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The Little Metropolis: Religion, Politics, & Spolia

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The Little Metropolis: Religion, Politics, & Spolia

by

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Abstract

There have been numerous councils throughout the Catholic Church's history. From the First Council of Nicaea in 325 CE to Vatican II in 1962, only a few centuries have passed without any major church doctrinal change. Following hand in hand with changes in doctrine came the bifurcation of the Christian Church into the Roman Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church. The first split came in 325 CE with Arianism.

Arius of Alexandria and his followers did not agree with the Catholic Church's viewpoint that the son, Jesus, should be on equal footing with the Father and the Holy Spirit. Constantine the Great brought the Arianism debate to the First Council of Nicaea, which declared Arianism a heretical religion. The following Catholic council's decisions separated the two Churches even more, eventually creating the formal separation of the Church during the East-West Schism in the middle of the 11th century. Although the two Churches constantly tried to unite, the Churches hit speed bumps along the way. Eventually, the 1274 Second Council of Lyons officially united the two Churches, even if only for an ephemeral time.

At first glance, it might not seem that much resulted from the 1274 Second Council of Lyons. Almost immediately after the council's ruling, the two Churches split again. Little is known as to why the 1274 Second Council of Lyons ultimately failed in its unification attempt. In this thesis, I will examine the churches of the Little Metropolis at Athens, Merbaka in the Argolid, and Agioi Theodoroi in Athens. In detailing the

architectural features of these buildings, I will reconstruct the church building program in association with the 1274 Second Council of Lyons. I will also compare these churches using historical sources to keep the sociological, religious, political, and historical context accurate.

The Little Metropolis: Religion, Politics, & Spolia

INTRODUCTION

Scholars debate the exact date of the Christian Church's bifurcation into the Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church; some suggest the split began as a result of Arianism in the first quarter of the fourth century CE.[1] Arianism, named after its founder Arius of Alexandria, was created immediately after the edict of Milan in 313. Arianism was the first religion to impugn the justification of the Trinity (the Father, Son, and the Holy Spirit) since the Arians believed that the son should not stand on equal footing with the Father and the Holy Spirit. They believed that he was not wholly divine but rather had a human element. This debate was brought forth to Constantine the Great, who placed the ruling into the hands of the First Council of Nicaea in 325, which ruled Arianism as a heretical religion. This debate over the exact nature of the son continued through the centuries and is now referred to as the "*filioque*" clause as it pertains to the Orthodox and Catholic Churches.[2] Tension grew between the two churches, eventually producing the "East-West" Schism.

Intra-Christian animosity peaked after the third crusade in 1189-1192, since the Roman Catholic Church's failed attempts to seize Jerusalem were blamed on the Byzantine Empire which was deemed unhelpful. Gregory argues that the Orthodox Church simply did not understand why the Roman Catholic Church needed to possess the holy city of Jerusalem.[3] The "injustice" of the Byzantine Empire's lack of help pushed the Roman Catholic Church beyond its

[1] All dates in this paper, unless otherwise noted, are in the Common Era (CE).
[2] Gregory 2010, 150.
[3] Gregory 2010, 155.

threshold, and provoked them to sack Constantinople in the fourth crusade in 1205, led by the Franks. The Franks seized a major part of Greece during their crusade, most notably Athens and the Peloponnese. The subsequent Byzantine Empire under Michael VIII only recaptured Constantinople in 1261, and with another possible crusade on the horizon, Michael VIII unwillingly agreed to unite the Orthodox and the Roman Catholic Churches in an attempt to save his power and his empire, since Byzantium was hard-pressed financially. In March 1274 , Pope Gregory X held a council in Lyons, France where Michael VIII accepted the terms of the *"filioque*" clause. Michael VIII, received much animosity from his fellow Byzantine court officials; Theodora, his wife, originally sided with the anti-unionists in Byzantium, only siding politically with Michael VIII. Even Michael VIII's sister, Eulogia, publically rejected his policies; later telling Theodora, after Michael VIII died, that Michael was doomed to eternal damnation.[4] Michael VIII even went so far as to embark "on a program of persecution of those who opposed his religious policy, especially monks, and became extremely unpopular among his subjects."[5] Thus Michael VIII needed to prove his Empire's allegiance to the Roman Catholic Church; Michael VIII did this by building churches that displayed this new united Christian theme. It will be the focus of this thesis to suggest that the Little Metropolis is part of a building program associated with the 1274 Second Council of Lyons, together with Merbaka in the Argolid as well as with Agioi Theodoroi in Athens, on account of their iconography with respect to history.

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[4] Talbot 1992, 298: Georgii Pachymeris *De Michaele et Andronico Paleologis libri tredecim*, Bonn ed. (1835), II, 16.6-11.
[5] Talbot 1992, 298.

HISTORY

First, I will present some brief but relevant history. Historically, Athens had never been the same since Alexander conquered and sacked it. Later, the Romans sacked Athens in 86 BCE compliments of Sulla, who forced the Athenians to tear down their city walls; the Romans annexed Athens only to flee the Athenians entirely when the Herulians invaded and sacked Athens in 267. Byzantium disenfranchised Athens since it was the remnant of a heavily pagan community. On account of Athens' pagan past, Constantinople sent limited help to it, therefore making Athens a quasi "buffer zone" between the Latin west and the Byzantine east. This made Greece a common and vulnerable area for seizure, a fact that the Franks, Venetians, and Germans took advantage of until 1204 when Athens fell to the Franks in the fourth crusade (see figure 16 for a map of the Morea). Athens never regained its freedom again until its modern independence in the 19th century.

One could label Athens as the potential "corner stone" of the 1274 Second Council of Lyons "deal", since the city was geographically the last territory conquered from the Byzantine Empire. Perhaps if Athens had not folded, as Corinth did due to the sudden death of William of Moerbeke around 1274, then perhaps Athens would have been granted her freedom. It is true that around 1274, another crusade was about to happen, in which the Latin Crusaders were finally going to take over Constantinople for good. Again, this is because the Catholic Church felt as though the Byzantines had not fully helped them in their quest for the reclaiming of the holy land. Thus the emperor at that time, Michael VIII, was *de facto* forced into signing the pact as a means to delay the Latin invasion of Constantinople, thus forming a "religious" alliance between the two parties.

BYZANTINE ARCHITECTURE

The Byzantine Empire lasted from 306 to 1453 and saw several architectural styles throughout its extent. Most Byzantine architectural scholars, including Mango, categorize the major Byzantine architectural styles into three groups: Early Byzantine (Constantine-Iconoclasm), Middle Byzantine (Iconoclasm-Fourth Crusade), and Late Byzantine (Fourth Crusade-1453).[6] Buchwald problematizes Mango's categorization system by considering Byzantine architecture cyclical. Buchwald therefore suggests a four category system, where he categorizes all Byzantine architecture into either Style I, II, III, or IV. Buchwald summarizes his suggestion as follows:

> "I suggest the following. Style I produced *the basic forms and set the foundations* which underlay the entire further development of Byzantine architecture. Style II is *analytical*: It probes the many possibilities technically, icongraphically, and also aesthetically. Style III is *synthetic*: The many possibilities are filtered, the most usable are chosen, amalgamated, refined to perfection and then varied. Style IV is retrospective and repeats the forms of earlier periods, but at the same time it develops them in various directions which were not previously exhaustively explored" [7]

In the following subchapters I discuss general Byzantine architectural styles referencing both Mango's and Buchwald's models, favoring Mango's. I will synthesize the two models interchangeably since each model provides its own strengths. I will also explain what I call the "Human Factor" relating to the physical construction process of churches; once the architectural styles and the "Human Factor" relating Byzantine architecture is described, I will analyze the Little Metropolis, Merbaka, and Agioi Theodoroi.

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[6] Mango 1975, 9.
[7] Buchwald 1999, VII 11.

Early Byzantine Architecture (306- 843)

In Mango's scheme, Early Byzantine architecture generally consists of the Late Roman basilica style adapted for a Christian audience. The Early Byzantine basilicas are characterized as oblong structures usually with a timber roof and which also usually "contained at the far end a tribunal that could be used by the presiding magistrate."[8] Early Byzantine basilica had no standard internal form but generally consisted of either three or five aisles, two colonnades, a transept, either a clerestory or a gallery, and a nave that terminated in an apse. Constantine adapted the Late Roman Basilica for the new Christian sanctuaries since he needed big enclosed gathering places and the late Roman basilica proved the best fit at the time. Brenk comments on Constantine's new political building agenda and describes Constantine's movement for *varietas.* He states that Constantine in fact had a political agenda in adorning his buildings with spolia, as however, driven by an interest in *varietas*:

> "Spolia were not selected for Christian basilicas only but were used on Constantinian buildings in general, mainly for aesthetic reasons, to obtain *varietas* within the context of traditional forms of construction but disconnected from their canonical use. Constantine's court architects deliberately gave up the time-honored form canon and mixed the architectural orders. In this we may see decadence and/or new creations but by no means classicism."[9]

Constantine thus built new structures with a new style, differentiating them from Christian and pagan sanctuaries, but Constantine did not err too far in pursuing *varietas* as to upset anyone; Constantine thereby flirted with the line of controversy but did not pass it. This is the first traceable instance in western architectural history where one can see the use of innovation in building materials and/or forms to create a new architectural style for the purpose of a new

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[8] Mango 1975, 148.
[9] Brenk 1987, 106.

religious movement.[10] This concept was not foreign to Middle Byzantine architects, as we will see later in the Little Metropolis and Merbaka in terms of ornamental spolia.

Early Byzantine buildings were very heavy buildings, often consisting of a brick to mortar ratio of 1:1 in the 4th century.[11] Mango comments:

> "the excessive use of mortar had an unavoidable result: the buildings tended to settle and warp as the mortar dried out, and this process must have begun already during construction. In large buildings this was especially serious, as we shall observe in the case of St. Sophia; but nearly all Byzantine buildings show irregularities and deformations that are connected with the large quantity of mortar they contain."[12]

Eventually the brick to mortar ratio dropped to 2:3 in the 6th century.[13](See figures 10, 11 & 14 for two examples of conventional Early Byzantine floor plans from Constantine's Basilica and Saint Peter's Basilica).

Middle Byzantine Architecture (843- 1204)

Middle Byzantine architecture is generally characterized as innovative, having recently emerged from Iconoclasm, a period when Christian Doctrine prohibited the direct worship and/or creation of new icons of God. In Buchwald's model (Style II & III),

> "there are enormous numbers of building forms and variations. There is constant striving for new and improved forms. Only seldom are two churches very similar, and the same floor plan is almost never repeated in the same way. The results of these experiments are several almost entirely new solutions."[14]

The Middle Byzantine era was plagued with financial difficulties and depopulation throughout, which brought several monastic orders from isolated areas into the cities; this in effect also brought many new monastic building into cities. The main church floor plan of the Middle Byzantine era is the cross-in-square church, also called the inscribed cross church. Church's

[10] Brenk 1987, 20.
[11] Mango 1975, 20.
[12] Mango 1975, 20.
[13] Mango 1975, 20
[14] Buchwald 1999, VII 6.

supports start to move inward, replacing basilica flying buttresses with either two or four interior weight bearing columns. The inscribed cross church has several variations, although most contain a nave terminating into a polygonal apse, two flanking chapels, a small narthex, and any number of domes. Cloisonné for exterior wall decoration is very popular in this era. (See figure 12 for a sampling of Middle Byzantine inscribed cross floor plans).

Late Byzantine Architecture (1204- 1453)

The Late Byzantine era was plagued with invasions and power struggles that hindered church production; few churches were made in this era. Michael VIII Palaeologos, Emperor of the Nicaean Empire, recaptured Constantinople from the Latins in 1261, and then brought forth his own new art style called Palaeologan Art. Mango comments on a specific characteristic of Palaeologan art (1261-1453) as

> "A characteristic feature of the latter [the aristocracy in the Palaeologan dynasty 1261-1330] is the important place reserved for burials: along the walls of church narthex, in specially constructed chapels and ambulatories, were arched recesses containing sarcophagi as well as portraits of the deceased and pompous epitaphs detailing the noble ancestry and high connections of all those Palaeologi, Doukai, and Cantacuzenes."[15]

The churches that were constructed in the Late Byzantine era had elaborately decorated façades, smaller but higher domes, and generally more interior paintings than previous eras. From the 13th century on the cross-vaulted church type was common in Greece.[16] The modern day model of a Late Byzantine Church is the Chora in Constantinople (see figure 13 for Chora floor plan).

Michael VIII and Theodora, his wife, took an active role in the welfare of monasteries. Church documents survive from 1259-1281 citing Michael VIII and Theodora taking an "active

[15] Mango 1976, 266.
[16] Mango 1976, 259.

imperial intervention in disputes over monastic properties or privileges….Several of these acts are *horismoi* (preserved only in copies) issued by the empress herself."[17] Records even show Theodora giving direct orders to Michael VIII's court officials regarding monasteries, which the court officials followed. Near the end of Theodora's life, she took a particular interest in the Lips Monastery, which she reopened from the 10th century, where she eventually was buried. Talbot writes,

> "Last but not least, the church of St. John the Baptist was consciously designed as a mausoleum for the Palaiologan family, most probably in imitation of the church of St. Michael at the Pantokrator monastery, which had been built in the mid-twelfth century by John II Komnenos to house the tombs of his family. The first member of the Palaiologan dynasty, Michael VIII, had been denied Christian burial; Theodora, as dowager empress and matriarch of the family, no doubt was determined to make provisions for proper burial for herself and her descendants."[18]

The Palaeologans were very interested in keeping their memory preserved; they made sure of it by incorporating their own sarcophagi into their churches.

Frankish Architecture in the Morea

Since part of this thesis concerns interactions between Byzantine and Frankish culture, I turn now to a few generalities about Frankish architecture. Frankish architecture in the Morea is hard to firmly characterize because of the intricate interactions between the Franks and Greeks. Most scholars define Frankish architecture in the Morea as any building erected in mainland Greece after the fourth crusade that displays elements of Gothic architecture.[19] Tranquir sets this tone with "few of their churches [Greek churches thought to be Frankish] show the Western plan, most are arranged to suit the Orthodox ritual and only show their Frankish origin in a scrap of

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[17] Talbot 1992, 296: F. Barisic, "Povelje vizantijskih carica," ZRVI 13 (1971), 143-93.
[18] Talbot 1992, 299.
[19] Although the Morea was a geographic region in Greece, Frankish architecture was also influenced in the Duchy of Athens and Epirus.

carving, a pointed arch, or a bay of rib vaulting. It would seem that the Franks did not cling with any affection to the Latin Church, or that the Latin Church adapted its ritual to a more Orthodox model."[20] In fact, most Frankish architecture in the Morea maintained the traditional Greek mid-Byzantine architecture style, as Bouras states: "Greek monuments continued to use the church types known from earlier periods, whether basilicas or domed, almost always with a narthex and tripartite sanctuary area."[21] Although the basilica is most associated with Gothic architecture, the cross-in-square floor plan was also very popular in the Frankish Morea.[22] Not every aspect of Gothic architecture was thus carried over to the Morea.

In an attempt to generalize Frankish architectural characteristics in the Morea, one must take into account that there will always be exceptions to these generalities, as some edifices might exhibit any range of the following. Main Frankish characteristics in Morean churches are 1) slender engaged exterior columns, 2) exonarthex capitals/jamb molds 3) column capitals in doorways, 4) large scale incorporation of white marble as building material, 5) decorated façade and/or ornamental sculptures, 6) groin vaulting, 7) pointed arch openings, 8) polygonal apse projections.[23] Frankish Morean fabric is very varied from "spolia from ancient sites, fieldstones with tile fill, typically Byzantine cloisonné brickwork and ashlar rubble-core construction."[24] In most cases, no clear answer can be determined as to which rite any specific Frankish Morean church involved, whether Roman Catholic or Greek Orthodox.

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[20] Tranquir 1923, 33.
[21] Bouras 2001, 255.
[22] Grossman 2004, 121.
[23] Bouras 2001, 2.
[24] Grossman 2004, 121.

Transition Architecture in the Crusader Levant (1099-1187)

Architecture in the Crusader Levant is very similar to that of the Frankish Morea. The Latin Crusaders captured the Levant in the first crusade in 1099. More than 400 churches were built or rebuilt during the crusader occupation of the Levant in these 88 years.[25] This Levantine grouping of crusader churches perhaps ranges the most out of all the other groups in this paper, since numerous churches were built in the Levant strictly on a location where a major Christian religious event occurred. Moreover, because of the previous inhabitants and structures in the Levant, e.g., in densely populated Jerusalem, areas pertaining to famous events of Jesus were rebuilt in irregular architectural styles just to get the most out of that specific area, e.g., the Holy Sepulchre (see figure 15).[26]

The remaining church floor plans that are not of the first varied type fall almost equally between the traditional gothic basilica and the mid-byzantine inscribed cross church (or a mix between the two). This mid-byzantine flavor is probably due to the fact that Byzantium provided the closest local guilds for erecting these crusader Levant churches, when master masons were summoned. Most of these remaining non-variable churches display gothic architecture throughout, such as rib vaulting, crocket capitals, clearstories or galleries, and pointed arch portals.

The Human Factor in Architecture

Local guilds constructed every church in their respective local area, with very few exceptions, therefore creating a local and/or regional style, since guild members simply handed

[25] Pringle 2007, 1.
[26] Pringle 1987, 350.

down the same regional style that they were taught to the next generation of guild members.[27] On rare occasions foreign guilds were brought in to erect a church with their foreign guild's respective style. An example of importation of guild members is seen when Charles of Anjou sent 40 French guild members and their families to Sicily in 1274 to erect churches *ad modum franciae.*[28] Bruzelius further suggests the favoritism of Frankish workers and their importation to Sicily: "whenever possible, the direction of the work seems to have been put in the hands of Frenchmen. A document of 17 April 1282 specified that the four supervisors at one site be Frenchmen." However, the importation of other foreign workers remained rare, especially in Greece.[29] Ousterhout comments on Greek workshops in the Frankish Morea: "In Greece, it now seems that local workshops continued under Latin patronage, requiring older chronologies to be recognized; Merbaka, once the linchpin in Megaw's chronology from Middle Byzantine churches of the Argolid, is now generally believed to date well into the thirteenth century (Megaw 1931-4; Coulson 2002; Bouras 2001)."[30] One factor that hinders chronological dating is the animosity the Greeks held toward Gothic architecture, which led to a more subtle Gothic infusion rather than an all encompassing overnight cultural takeover. Bouras comments on the Greek's animosity towards Gothic architecture style:

> "The limited nature of this influence is due on the one hand to the fact that there preexisted in Byzantine territory a lively, self-contained, local architecture, and on the other to the great cultural and religious divide between the invading Crusaders and the locals. Majestic Gothic architecture was not well known and found few admirers among the Greeks."[31]

Aside from the architects of Hagia Sophia, Isidore of Miletus and Anthemius of Tralles, who held the positions essentially similar to modern college professors of architecture (also called

[27] Ousterhout 199, 39-58.
[28] Bruzelius 1991, 414.
[29] Bruzelius 1991, 414: De Bouard, *Actes et lettres,* II, 222.
[30] Ousterhout 2008, 362.
[31] Bouras 2001, 261.

mechanikoi) there is limited to no other evidence of such highly educated individuals being consulted for architectural planning outside Constantinople. Instead, local guild groups in mainland Greece and elsewhere consisted of the *architektones* and the unskilled laborers.[32] *Architektones* were illiterate, and their primary education regarding building techniques was taught through the guild and was associated with the lower class. The unskilled laborer was also illiterate. The master mason held the position of the architect and the overall foreman.[33] The patron generally did not take any direct role during a church's construction, although there are rare occasions of patrons such as Saint Nikolas in Constantinople and Charles de Anjou who did.[34] The generosity of the patron determined the church's size, although, as Buchwald notes "A medium sized basilica appears to have been standard (Style II & III), within the financial reach even of small, unimportant communities."[35]

The Little Metropolis, Merberka, and Agioi Theodoroi

I will now list and describe the numerous Frankish elements that the Little Metropolis, Merbaka and Agioi Theodoroi display. I will do this by commenting on Frankish floor plans, exterior Frankish styles, façade ornamentation, and diagnostic pottery.

Grossman separates Frankish Morea floor plans into four categories; the basilica, the basilica with a short nave and tripartite apse, the cross-vaulted church, and the cross-in-square plan.[36] Of this fourth plan she notes:

> "The fourth major plan type in the Morea is the typically Middle Byzantine, domed cross-in-square. This is most frequently of the two-column, two pier type in the thirteenth-century Peloponnesos. The churches are

[32] Ousterhout 1999, 44.
[33] Ousterhout 1999, 44.
[34] Ousterhout 1999, 42 and Bruzelius 1991, 405.
[35] Buchwald 1999, IV 23 & Ousterhout 2010.
[36] Grossman 2004, 122.

> small in scale, have single projecting main apses (with flanking apsidal spaces contained within the east wall's depth) and modest nartheces."[37]

The Little Metropolis, Merbaka, and Agioi Theodoroi all fit Grossman's description; they are all three-aisled inscribed cross-and-dome churches with the nave terminating into a polygonal apse. All are situated either in the Morea or in a neighboring principality of Morea, and thus all sit in regions that the Frankish Crusaders originally influenced. All three churches have engaged columns and exterior window-sill decorations in the Gothic style, an Athenian-style eight-arched dome, a small narthex, and decorative posts and lintels in the thresholds of at least one portal. An example of similar highly decorative post and lintel portals is also seen in Blachernae in Arta, considered a pinnacle of Frankish architecture, since its erecting was thoroughly documented therefore providing a clear date for the Frankish occupation period. A majority of these three churches were built with large building stones.

Highly ornamented facades are very common in Gothic architecture, of which the Little Metropolis and the Merbaka displays somewhat. Merbaka exhibits the most Gothic features out of this collection of churches, displaying "engaged columns in the trilobed sanctuary window, jamb molds on the arches of the porches that once existed in front of the entrances, columns capitals with crockets in the dome, and other elements."[38] Merbaka also has an ornamented façade, showing evidence of Gothic style. The Little Metropolis displays Gothic elements with its Corinthian capitals which are situated in the area where exonarthex crocket capitals would have been placed. The façades of Merbaka and the Little Metropolis are richly ornamented with ceramics and spolia similar to the Gothic style. Also, Agioi Theodoroi's and Merbaka's façades share similar ornamentation decorations in cloisonné brickwork.

[37] Grossman 2004, 123.
[38] Bouras 2001, 250.

Diagnostic pottery can also be used to date a church. Evidence of Grid-Iron Protomajolica ceramic pots immured into Merbaka's façade date it to the third quarter of the 13th century.[39] Evidence for sgraffito pottery, originally located in Agioi Theodoroi's tympanum, dates Agioi Theodoroi to at least the second half of the 12th century. The use of sgraffito pottery remained strong in Byzantine architecture up and through the 13th century. I comment further on this in Agioi Theodoroi section below.

Overall, Frankish architecture in the Morea is very hard to document. Bouras notes the difficulties in describing Frankish Morea architecture: "We arrive then at the conclusion that the influence of Frankish on Byzantine architecture in the thirteenth century was insubstantial and is evinced only in certain limited and isolated formal elements in buildings that preserve the general style of the mid-Byzantine period."[40] Nevertheless, these examples of mixed gothic and byzantine architectural elements along with pottery dating, iconography, and documented Latin-Byzantine interactions in the Morea, which I will also comment on later, date the churches to the third quarter of the 13th century.

[39] Sanders 1989, 190-192.
[40] Bouras 2001, 261.

THE LITTLE METROPOLIS AT ATHENS

Description

The Little Metropolis, called Panagia Gorgoepikoos ("Παναγία Γοργοεπίκοος") and Agios Eleftheros, sits between the Ancient Athenian Agora and Syntagma Square in the city of Athens on οδός Μητροπόλεως (figures 1, 2, 3, & 4). It is currently shadowed by the sister church, the 19th-century Metropolis Church of Athens, a mere 10 meters away. The Little Metropolis is a spolia-rich Greek Byzantine church which scholars have generally dated to the late 12th to early 13th century. The church's exterior façade is composed entirely of spolia, a category which by definition consists in re-used building materials and/or sculptures dating from earlier periods. Spolia are simply incorporated as building blocks instead of new building material. Examples of spolia often involve, but are not limited to, friezes, statue bases, inscriptions, and sarcophagi. Exclusive incorporation of spolia makes the Little Metropolis unique as compared to other contemporary Byzantine churches, the latter being commonly built with broken bricks and pottery cemented together in forming exterior walls. There are only a handful of exceptions that incorporate spolia to such an extent, such as Skripou in Boeotia, although Skripou is antecedent belonging to the early Middle Byzantine era. It is first necessary to define the physical description of the Little Metropolis before further analysis.

The Little Metropolis' dimensions are 7.32x11.38m.[41] It was built atop the ancient Greek temple of Eileithyia, the goddess of childbirth, which is fitting, as Panagia Gorgoepikoos roughly translated means "The Virgin who is quick to hear all."[42] The brick levels on the Little Metropolis' exterior walls are relatively flush with the levels directly above and below, with the

[41] Kiilerich 2005, 95.
[42] Pausanias I, 18, 5.

exception of the bottom most level. This level, the foundation, protrudes roughly 5 cm, creating an effect similar to a stereobate, although only in design and not in purpose as this level does not affect the church's overall height. The first register of spolia starts around the two meter mark and consists of stones from a variety of eras ranging from Classical Greek to Byzantine. The famous spolia reside in and around this area, such as the "Naked Satyr" frieze (figure 5) on the north wall and the famous "Zodiac Calendar" scene (figure 6) that rests above the first register on the west wall, the façade; both of which I shall address below in detail. Corinthian capitals are located on the two top corners of the façade. It should also be noted that the Little Metropolis has exactly two Roman grave stelai immured on its east wall; however, each displays only 2 figures, something that will be an important topic for comparison later. The Little Metropolis was built in a piazza (figure 4 for a 19th century rendering), which should also be kept in consideration while analyzing the edifice. The Little Metropolis' roof is composed of terracotta tiling and has an Athenian style eight arched dome (figure 12 for floor plan). Modern research suggests that the Little Metropolis' exterior walls were once covered in frescoes.[43] The Little Metropolis has limited permanent interior fixtures.

Scholarship in the Little Metropolis

The first wave of research on the Little Metropolis dates to 1906 with the Germans Michel and Struck joining forces to publish "Die Mittelbyzantinischen Kirchen Athens" and Steiner publishing "Antike Skulpturen an der Panagia Gorgoepikoos". The works of the Frenchman Andre Grabar superseded these scholars starting in 1976. I use Saradi's précis in

[43] Kaldellis 2009, 145.

summarizing this wave of research. According to Saradi, Michel and Struck argued that the church's spolia were laid out in a symmetrical plan. Hatzidakis then expanded Michel and Struck's work and was the first to associate the Little Metropolis with the Metropolitan Michael Choniates, the last Byzantine Archbishop of Athens from 1182-1205.[44]

Grabar provides the archetype for researching the Little Metropolis in his article entitled "Byzantine Sculptures du Moyen Age II." Grabar, agreeing with the earlier research of Michel and Struck, notes that the spolia were indeed incorporated with a symmetrical plan; however, he argues that the spolia hold no symbolic meaning since different eras of spolia are juxtaposed next to each other. This haphazardous juxtaposing of contrasting spolia was just meant to make an overall symmetrical façade. Saradi summarizes Grabar's thesis as follows:

> "Grabar dismissed the text of the patriarch Nicephorus as irrelevant for the new interest in animal motifs in the late Byzantine period. Thus he interpreted as apotropaic the frieze with animals on the lintel of the church of the Sts. Anargyroi at Kastoria. But it is important to note that Grabar did not propose a similar interpretation for the sculptures of the Panaghia Gorgoepikoos"[45]

Grabar dates the church to the late 12th century, although architecturally he gives the Little Metropolis a *terminus post quem* of the late 13th century. Grabar's arguments and research are based on his studies of other Byzantine churches within close proximity to the Little Metropolis as well as the church of San Marco in Venice.

Against this argument Mango suggests that the spolia were in fact used apotropaically and would thus have been used to ward off evil spirits by the extremely superstitious Greeks. Mango argues his point by noting the erratic arrangement of spolia; while he agrees in the symmetry of the arrangement, he feels that Grabar's "haphazardous juxtaposition" approach to

[44] Kaldellis 2009, 145.
[45] Saradi 1997, 410.

the spolia is not an accurate reading and their assignment accords with Mango's own apotropaic approach.

Maguire's main article builds on Mango's approach in "The Cage of Crosses: Ancient and Medieval Sculptures on the 'Little Metropolis' in Athens." He argues that the crosses and circles vandalized on the spolia by the Byzantine Christians would have "neutralized" the spolia's feared pagan power, and would therefore have Christianized them. He compares the crosses to cages, saying that the Byzantine builders "caged" the heavily pagan elements by flanking them with crosses or circles. This caging effect is apparent in the "Naked Satyr" frieze on the north exterior wall (figure 5). The naked satyr has two crosses flanking him and therefore containing him just like a feared or dangerous caged animal.

Saradi's more far-reaching article, "The Use of Ancient Spolia in Byzantine Monuments: The Archaeological and Literary Evidence", summarizes the use of spolia throughout the Byzantine Empire beginning in the early 5th century BCE when the boats of the defeated Persians were used as the new roof for the recently destroyed Parthenon. In discussing this example, Saradi shows how the architectural incorporation of spolia started as a political message even at this early time. She goes further to show the progression through the Romans and uses as an example Constantine's Arch. This piece not only used friezes from monuments of Trajan, Hadrian, and Marcus Aurelius to display a political message in a venue for all to see, but the arch also used spolia taken from other nearby buildings that would have only been incorporated for structural use.

Saradi continues with examples of Christian sites, to pagan symbols, and desecration of statue's genitalia. Christians felt that the first step to Christianizing was to build churches over

the old temple sites, just as is the case with the Little Metropolis.[46] Saradi argues that the Little Metropolis was once covered by frescos; she hypothesizes that these were added during the 13th century (Gailhabaud drew them only in the 19th century). She addresses the evidence that a pagan temple once stood where the little Metropolis now resides, and was dedicated to Eileithyia, the goddess of childbirth. This name still remains with the modern church through its "tertiary" name of St. Eleutherius (the liberator). Also, she suggests that perhaps Panagia Gorgoepikoos derives from the word "Gorgon", possibly in agreement with Mango's apotropaic approach that very feared symbols, in this case a gorgon, would bring forth a great accomplishment for the Christians of "conquering" Paganism. She then asserts that the pagan feast on the façade is juxtaposed with a Christian feast, as a means of Christianization. In treating the zodiac calendar frieze she remarks:

> "No attempt has been made to interpret the relief with the pagan feasts and zodiac signs on the west wall of the Panagia Gorgoepikoos. It seems reasonable to suggest that the feasts could correspond with the Byzantine practice of banquets after the liturgy in front of the churches, attested in sources from the early period on. They may also have a spiritual interpretation. The zodiac signs also may have been given a Christian meaning: in several Byzantine works of art they symbolize good or evil. Thus it is possible that the pagan reliefs of the facade received a Christian reinterpretation."[47]

She argues that the most influential pieces of Byzantine spolia in churches were put in the northern corners of the eastern walls, where in the Little Metropolis the naked satyr frieze is located and where "the victory of the church [Panagia Gorgoepikoos] is also stressed by the incorporation in the north wall of several pieces which have been identified as belonging to an altar."[48]

Saradi's article sheds light on the Little Metropolis' spolia in regard to their positioning and possible meaning. Saradi continues to explain spolia with the conventional theme of displaying a political agenda; however, she does not attempt to accept either Michael Choniates

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[46] Saradi 1997, 416.
[47] Saradi 1997, 416-417.
[48] Saradi 1997, 416-417.

as the Little Metropolis' patron or to suggest another possible patron. Instead, she leaves this endeavor open, and Kiilerich attempted to tackle this issue in her 2005 article entitled, "Making sense of the spolia in the Little Metropolis in Athens."

Kiilerich's article appeared in 2005 and is the most recent regarding the Little Metropolis. The article begins by summarizing the modern research on the Little Metropolis; she then dates the church to 1456, substantially later than the date proposed by Grabar. Her evidence is a minute inscription she found near the church's "cornice", which she claims Cyriacus of Ancona found and "archived" in 1436.[49] In what follows I shall problematize Kiilerich's approach.

Cyriacus of Ancona was a rich and well educated Italian man (1391-1453/5), who spent the latter part of his life traveling the Mediterranean, archiving the ancient sites and inscriptions that he came across, similar to Pausanias the traveler in the 2nd century. Kiilerich states that Cyriacus archived the inscription in question in his *Commentarii*, his travel logs, and if one is to assume that Cyriacus' inscription numbering system followed the order of the inscriptions as they came into his hand, the inscription in question would have been originally located nearer to the Athenian Agora than where the little Metropolis currently resides. This inscription numbering system is problematic in that Kiilerich uses this information to suggest that since the inscription was lying about the Athenian Agora, then the Little Metropolis would not have been built at that time since the inscription is part of the current church today.

Kiilerich concludes that the inscription dates the little Metropolis to 1456, three years after the Ottomans conquered Constantinople and shortly thereafter conquered Greece; this defeat would have caused the necessity for the Athenian Christians to build a new metropolis, and thus the Little Metropolis came to be. She argues that the church could not have been built

[49] Kiilerich 2005, 95-114.

without this minute inscription. While her conclusion sheds some light on the little Metropolis, her conclusions are faulty in the end.

Kiilerich too readily entertains the thought of Cyriacus wandering during his archiving work that day; she notes this possibility in passing. She also does not discredit the idea that Cyriacus archived the inscription but failed to reference its placement on the church or omitted its placement for any other unknown reason. Bodnar rejects Cyriacus as a source for Athens entirely as follows:

> "Only a very small portion of Cyriacus' book has survived in autograph, and this part does not deal with Athens. To know what Cyriacus wrote when he copied the Athenian inscriptions one must have recourse to the copies of his copies which appear over and over again in the epigraphical manuscripts of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and one must try to establish a working hypothesis as to the interrelationship of these manuscript copies… .Finally, since these inscriptions were recorded by Cyriacus in the course of his incessant wanderings, and formed a part of his journal, it seemed, if not necessary, at least very useful to include with the study of the manuscript, a report on his itinerary and on the general character of his book."[50]

Cyriacus of Ancona left no travel itinerary for his 16 day stay in Athens from 7-22 April 1436. If one goes off the numbered inscriptions as they rest today *in situ*, for example, and these include inscriptions still in the Parthenon, Hephaesteum, Lysicrates monument, and the Theatre of Dionysus, one will bear witness to his sporadic wanderings. For example inscriptions at Hadrian's gate are numbered 12, 26, 47, and 48 although the Olympeion's inscription numbers, its neighbor, are 14-22.[51] Kiilerich uses this method to date the Little Metropolis, as inscriptions 33, 34, 35, 37, 45, 49, 51, and 52 reside in the Athenian Agora while inscription 36 is isolated in/near the Little Metropolis. Although it is very intriguing that one inscription is isolated from the others, nevertheless we cannot only rely on such evidence, especially since Cyriacus' records do not specifically state the exact location of the inscription as on the ground or built in a church.

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[50] Bodnar 1960, 45.

[51] Bodnar 1960, 49. Numbers according to Bodnar's inscription numbering system. Bodnar's numbers agree in order of their finding, however, the numbers are limited to the vicinity of Agora-Acropolis-Little Metropolis for time's sake.

Kiilerich's theory also does not reference the length of Cyriacus' trip. Kiilerich assumes that the inscription simply must lie in the Athenian Agora as the prior inscriptions archived and the one numbered immediately following it are thought to have been found there. However, sixteen days is a significant amount of time, just enough time to allow Cyriacus to partake in his regular weekly or perhaps daily itinerary such as attending church.

Cyriacus was a very religious man. At a young age he befriended Cardinal Gabriel Condulmieri, a man who undertook the rebuilding of the Ancona harbor and made Cyriacus the overseer of the reconstruction program's finances of operation.[52] This relation became very fruitful later in Cyriacus' life as Cardinal Gabriel Condulmieri became Pope Eugenius IV in 1431.[53] Attending mass at the Little Metropolis, a spolia-rich edifice, would have delighted the inscription-crazed historian. However, although 13th century frescoes would have covered the majority of the exterior façade when Cyriacus saw the Little Metropolis, erosion would have made some inscriptions visible as the frescos were exposed to the natural elements 365 days a year. The frescos would also explain why Cyriacus only archived this sole inscription in the area, since frescos covered the remainder of the walls. Moreover, the inscription in question is located near the top wall, on a "cornice" type design. This placement may go some way in explaining why Cyriacus recorded one isolated inscription so far away from the others and may also explain why he only cataloged one in addition to trying to keep the Sabbath day holy with limited work. It is arguable that Cyriacus would have also enjoyed mass in the Christian Parthenon, since sixteen days provides two opportunities to attend mass, and as a traveler, both experiences would have been profitable and desirable.

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[52] Bondar 1960, 20.
[53] Bondar 1960, 20.

Nevertheless, using Cyriacus as a primary source with regard to Athenian inscriptions is problematic if not altogether invalid if one primarily uses his *Commentarii* to prove a location of inscriptions, since Cyriacus provides no itinerary. It is also common knowledge that Athens' edifices suffered damage during WWII, as Megaw notes regarding Agioi Theodoroi in Athens.[54] The Little Metropolis served as a library during WWII.

In conclusion, Kiilerich's work and therefore her proposed date for the Little Metropolis cannot be accepted since Cyriacus of Ancona leaves much doubt in his erratic and unorganized account of Athenian inscriptions. Cyriacus' inscription placement cannot be used to prove inscription dating or geographical placement as Pausanias' account can. Therefore, the date of the Little Metropolis must be reexamined with comparisons from Athens and the Peloponnese. As noted in the introduction, I argue for a date in the late 13th century.

[54] Megaw 1933, 163-169.

MERBAKA

Sanders piece, "Use of Ancient Spolia to Make Personal and Political Statements: William of Moerbeke's Church at Merbaka (Ayia Triada, Argolida)", discusses the Church at Merbaka, which sits in the Argolid on the Peloponnesian Peninsula near Corinth and Nafplio (see figures 7 & 8). Merbaka is very similar to the Little Metropolis in that their exterior walls are comprised with numerous spolia, both churches are symmetrical in respect to design, both churches have stereobates, were built atop an ancient Greek temple foundation, both incorporate exactly two Roman grave stelai each, and both possess inscriptions. Merbaka differs in that trace areas of its exterior walls were erected with the more traditional Byzantine cloisonné brickwork. Merbaka also differs from the Little Metropolis in that it seems completely secluded dwelling in a rural area. Sanders acknowledges this particular oddity in his article.

Sanders' main argument dates two Roman Grave stelai, one on the north side of the church and one on the south, to the 1274 Second Council of Lyons. Pope Gregory X called the 1274 Second Council of Lyons a means to unite the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches. This meeting arose on account of a potential new Roman Catholic Crusade that was heading for Constantinople. The Byzantine Empire, extremely weak at that point due to financial difficulties, insisted on peace so that it would not be harmed but more so for Michael VIII Palaeologos' personal agenda: to keep the Byzantine Empire's sovereignty and therefore maintain his reign. The council of 1274 surmised that the Nicean Creed include the *filioque* clause, which states that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are all equals and were brought forth at the same time, thus placing Jesus on equal footing with father and the holy spirit. The Orthodox Church prior to this council had often refuted this clause, although now they were forced to welcome it. Sanders implements this symbolism of the *filioque* by comparing the

original Greek Byzantine Church "trinity" of two, the Father and the Holy Spirit, with the Roman Catholic Church's trinity witnessed in Merbaka's spolia.

Sanders makes a number of significant observations. Sanders demonstrates that one Roman grave stele displays two human figures while the other spolium stele has three. The sculpted human figures, in medium relief, are posed in a similar demeanor. Sanders furthers this connection of the Roman grave stelai to the 1274 Second Council of Lyons with the Greek inscription on the two-human figured Roman stele, found on the north wall of the church referencing the famous Greek sculptors Xenophilos and Straton of Argos. Next, Sanders connects the Latin inscription referring to the grandson of Quintus Caecilius Metellus, "Creticus, the general (imperator) who conquered Crete in 67 BCE thereby suppressing piracy in the Aegean"[55] near the east door but in close proximity to the south wall of the three human-figured Roman stele and he describes how the stelai promote both Churches. Sanders argues that these factors prove the church's erection date after the 1274 council, when the two churches, the Roman Catholic Church and the Greek Orthodox Church, officially united. It should also be noted that our friend Cyriacus, whom Kiilerich also referenced, archived the Church at Merbaka's inscriptions. Sanders thereafter presents the pagan elements of the church; the extra stereobate and entrance located on the west side of the church, such as an ancient temple, as well as the three level stereobate that circumnavigates the entire church. The spolia for the Church at Merbaka came from the Temple of Hera seven kilometers away.

Sanders also exhibits the political significance of the site, showing how it would have been near the intersection of the road from Nafplio which bifurcated to go either west towards Argos or northwest avoiding the mountains and rough terrain toward Corinth.[56] This road was

[55] Sanders 2011, 13.
[56] Sanders 2011, 2.

essential for the plebian travelers, until Athens was declared the capital of the New Greek Independent State in the 19th century, thus diminishing the prominence of Nafplio and thus also this road. The Greek suburban railroad from Corinth to Argos also minimized the significance of this path, as it was constructed in the shallowest grade, further distancing Merbaka from general traffic. Sanders notes that the road from Nafplio to Corinth only recently lost its importance.[57]

[57] Sanders 2011, 2.

AGIOI THEODOROI

Agioi Theodoroi is a Greek Byzantine church that sits right off Klathmonos Square in Athens on Dragatsaniou Street (figure 9). Megaw first dated Agioi Theodoroi to 1065 and[58] shortly thereafter justified his findings based on two inscriptions, architectural style, and pottery since Xyngopoulos and Laurent impugned his original chronological evidence.[59] First, Megaw references other Byzantine churches such as Lykodemou, Kapnikarea, and Daphni regarding their architecture to define the "Greek School", to which Megaw states that Agioi Theodoroi is associated. Megaw justifies that:

> "Of the position of H. Theodoroi in the sequence of Athenian churches there can be no doubt. By the absence of embedded brick patterns it is shown to be later than the Kapnikarea and the Exo-narthex of the same church, which were the last important Athenian buildings on which the technique was used. On the other hand, the fact that none of the windows is dressed in stone is a safe indication that it antedates those twelfth- century churches where that treatment is found. The retention of the Cufic brick ornament in the tympana relates the church to the early patterned group and it would seem to lie between that group and Daphni, where there is only one tympanum filling of this type. The window forms suggest the same relationship: the arcade type found at the Panagia Lykodemou and the Kapnikarea in conjunction with the grouped form is wanting in H. Theodoroi, while the semi-arches in the south and west gables mark an advance on those of the Kapnikarea Exo-narthex; again from H. Theodoroi to Daphni there is similar progress, for the brick arch to the windows of the former in some cases does not extend below capital level, whereas at Daphni the windows are all completely framed and in addition a more developed triple form is introduced."[60]

However, Megaw later mentions a specific piece of pottery that he found built into a tympanum of one of Agioi Theodoroi's windows. Megaw describes the piece of pottery in question as "clay covered with an even white slip through which the design is cut in fine incisions; the glaze is pale yellow and there is no additional colour."[61] Although Megaw does not include a picture, Sanders believes this pottery is of the sgraffito style.[62] Moreover, according to Corinth XX, the prevalence of sgraffito pottery in Greece only started during the second half of 12th century and continued strongly through the 13th century.[63] Only rare examples of sgraffito pottery appear

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[58] Megaw 1931/1932, 90-130.
[59] Megaw 1931/1932, 163-169.
[60] Megaw 1931/1932, 164.
[61] Megaw 1931/1932, 167.
[62] Sanders 2010.
[63] Corinth XX.

from the first half of the 12th century. Greek pottery of the 11th century was undecorated.[64] This tendency is extremely problematic for Megaw's chronology. Several of Megaw's dates have been altered since his publication in 1932, most notably the Merbaka and Elis churches, which were redated roughly 100 years later.[65] Megaw's justification for his earlier date of 1065 is "pottery of this type is now known definitely to date as early as the eleventh century. Complete plates have been found at Corinth in association with coins of Constantine IX (Io042-I055) and Nicephorus III (lo78-Io8I), and the base of another at Thebes with a coin of the latter emperor."[66] As stated earlier, although it is true that sgraffito pottery can date as early as the 12th century, it is extremely rare, sgraffito pottery only become prevalent in Greece on the major scale during the 13th century.[67] Megaw's numismatic evidence is also problematic as these coins and sgraffito pottery were found in graves. The 11th century coins would have come from the burial back fill, which was the original dirt dug up in the first place to inter the body. Thus the coins only provide *terminus post quem.* This numismatic and pottery evidence combined with the fact that other churches in Megaw's "Greek School", such as Merbaka, were redated to later times (in the case of Merbaka, more than 100 years) suggests a much later date for Agioi Theodoroi.[68] Therefore Agioi Theodoroi should be dated from about 1150-the end of the 13th century.[69] Megaw's inscriptional evidence is also problematic as the church was damaged during the Greek War of Independence and World War II; therefore Agioi Theodoroi was repaired several times, which causes architectural and stylistic discrepancies.

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[64] Sanders 2010.
[65] Megaw 1931/1932, 96-97.
[66] Megaw 1931/1932, 96-97.
[67] Corinth XX: (See Sanders 2002 page 388 for examples of sgraffito pottery).
[68] Megaw 193/1932, 95.
[69] Sanders 2010.

HAGIOGRAPHY: THE SAINTS THEODORES

Churches are not haphazardly named; every name is given considerable thought and holds a specific meaning. Therefore, the symbolism of naming this church “Agioi Theodoroi”, literally translated “the Saints Theodores”, a name it has retained since its erection, is important here.

There are two main Saint Theodores in the Orthodox Rite; Saint Theodore Amasea and Saint Theodore Stratilates.[70] Both Saint Theodores were warrior saints who originated from towns around Constantinople and both were martyrs. Modern scholars even consider them one in the same, tracing their original “split” in 880 by Nicetas of Paphlagonia’s work *Laudatio*.[71] However, the Saint Theodores were recognized as two completely different Saints from the second half of the 9th century on, although “in Late Byzantine art they became closely associated.”[72]

By this time, details of their lives differentiated the two but they were both considered “warrior saints.” Saint Theodore Amasea refused to sacrifice to the pagan gods (early 4th century) and then later burnt down a temple of Cybele, the Earth goddess.[73] He died being burnt alive and is accepted as the “original” Saint Theodore. He is “known for a capacity to intervene in battle.”[74] Myths, which remain only in the Latin tradition, exist of both Saint Theodores, individually and independent of each other, slaying a dragon. They are thus symbolized as Saints

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[70] Saint Theodore Amasea is often called Saint Theodore of Tyro; Saint Theodore Stratilates is also called Saint Theodore of Heraclea. For the purpose of this paper, I will refer to these Saints as Saint Theodore Amasea and Saint Theodore Stratilates: (See Bugslag 2003, 446).
[71] Walter 2003, 59: BHG, 1753, AA SS, Nov. IV, pp.83-9.
[72] Walter 2003, 65.
[73] Bugslag 2003, 447: Peter Cornelius Claussen, *Chartres-Studien zu Vorgeschichte, Funktion und Skulptur der Vorhallen,* Wiesbaden 1975, 41-47.
[74] Walter 2003, 46.

who eliminate "an obnoxious beast or person."[75] Grotowski suggests that Saint Theodore Stratilates became out of necessity as an upper class warrior saint, since Saint Theodore Amasea already represented the lower ranking soldiers.[76] Walter comments on Saint Theodore Amasea as a warrior saint: "Carolides described him as the first Hercules, the personification of a great *Kulturkampf*, not only in the Christian faith against the heathen world but also of human culture against evil in nature."[77] Warrior saints, of which the two Theodores are, were popular symbols from the 11th century onward.[78]

Saint Theodore Amasea was so important that even when the Arabs controlled the area of his sanctuary at Euchaitia, Turkey, his cult continued to spread far and wide, including his relics.[79] In fact, more than 15 churches in Constantinople were dedicated to Saint Theodore.[80] The Saint Theodores maintained their strong symbolic meanings into the 13th century. Various additional aspects of Byzantine culture attest to the widespread popularity of the two. In the 13th century alone, three churches were dedicated to both Saint Theodores; the earliest of these churches was at Serres, and modern scholars suggest for it a *terminus post quem* of 1265.[81] Also, from 1254-1258 Theodore II Lascaris, emperor of Nicaea, marched on Melnik. Walter writes:

> "According to Theodore Pediasimus writing a century later, the emperor en route observed two handsome young men (οί σαφῶς ἄνδρε δύο, νεῷ καὶ ἀγαθῷ τας ὄψεις) whom he did not recognize. They routed the enemy [Melnik]. Back at Serres, the emperor recalled his invocation of the two Theodores, whom he rewarded for their intervention by lavishing gifts on their shrine."[82]

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[75] Walter 2003, 50: C. Walter "The Intaglio of Solomon in the Benaki Museum and the Origins of the Iconography of Warrior Saints," ΔΧΑΕ 15, 1989-90, pp.35-42.
[76] Grotowski 2010, 119.
[77] Walter 2003, 44: P. Carolidis, *Bemerkungen zu den alten kleinasiatischen Sprachen und Mythen,* Strasbourg, 1913, p.148.
[78] Bugslag 2003, 458.
[79] Walter 2003, 50
[80] Walter 2003, 50: Janin, 152-3.
[81] Walter 2003, 65: Plate 30.
[82] Walter 2003, 64: Fr. Dolger, "Zwei byzantinische Reiterheroen erobern die Festung Melnik," *Sbornik Gavril Kazarou, Isvestiya na B'lgarskiya Archeologiceski Institut 16*, 1950, pp. 275-9.

Saint Theodores were important symbols for the Byzantine army, and often approbations of them were associated with victory. As noted earlier, The Franks claimed they saw Saint George in battle in the 13th-century text The Chronicle of Morea and with the story from Lascaris, we see that the Byzantines called upon their warrior saints as well, Saint Theodores, in their war stories.

Famous artifacts remain in various museums that depict the Saint Theodores on mediums as equals with the western-warrior saints. For example, the Louvre has a steatite that depicts Saint Theodore Amasea as a member of the four main warrior Saints: Theodore Amasea, Demetrius, George, and Procopius. All four saints are depicted in warrior gear and hold a cross. The legend on the steatite reads: "Martyrs [witnesses] of the precepts of the Gospels, having appeared from the four ends [of the world], the στρατηλάτ[αι] are most ready to be awarded a place in heaven."[83] This steatite's icons are displayed as if united, showing the four corners of the Earth coming together under one Christian theme: Saint Theodore Amasea representing Byzantium; Saint Demetrus, Greece; Saint Procopius, Jerusalem; and Saint George, France.

Another pertinent example of warrior saints in medieval art is a triptych icon of ivory from Constantinople that places both Saint Theodores on an equal plane with Saint George and Saint Demetrius.[84] This piece is of particular interest since the Frankish crusader's warrior saint was Saint George. The Chronicle of Morea even records an approbation of Saint George fighting for the Frankish army against the Byzantines at the Battle of Prinitza.[85] Depicting these two warrior saints, Saint George and Saint Theodore Amasea, as equals here may suggest a movement towards the unification of the two Rites by equalizing each Rite's respective champion warrior-saint.

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[83] Walter 2003, 61: J. Durand, "La steatite de l'Hetimasie," *Revue du Louvre* 38 3, 1988, 194.
[84] Bugslag 2003, 459.
[85] Lurier 1964, 211.

Additionally, as stated earlier, Saint Theodore Amasea's relics and cult were spread throughout Christianity. Walter comments as follows on Saint Theodore Amasea's cult:

> "In sum, Theodore was particularly renowned in Syria, Palestine and Asia Minor, as well as Constantinople. In the West, he was esteemed in Italy, but hardly elsewhere. Only in the churches just mentioned was he clearly venerated as a military saint."[86]

In this overview, however, Walters omits a crucial example of Theodore's worship in the heart of Europe. Chartres Cathedral, the pinnacle of 13th-century Gothic French architecture, has a relic of Saint Theodore Amasea.[87] But Chartres does not possess just any relic of Saint Theodore Amasea, but it possesses his head, which is said to have been brought from Rome in 1120 by Bishop Geoffroy de Leves. Chartres would eventually acquire St. Anne's head as well after 1204, and, as Bugslag writes, "new canons swore their oaths on this relic."[88] These relics together, particularly Saint Theodore Amasea's head, were strong symbols, particularly for the Franks who identified with Saint George as their patron saint. Of all the relics to acquire, why did the Franks select such a strong Byzantine symbol as Saint Theodore Amasea?

Chartres Cathedral also incorporated Saint Theodore Amasea as a theme in cathedral decorations. Chartres Cathedral's north radiating chapel has a window decoration dedicated to Saint Theodore Amasea, depicting him burning a temple of Cybele.[89] In considering percentage of space dedicated to depicting patron saints in the cathedral, I note that only two windows were dedicated to Saint George and three to Saint Eustace.[90] Saint Theodore Amasea is also depicted on the west façade, south porch, left portal, and left pillar of the Cathedral.[91] Is it then, a coincidence that an Orthodox warrior saint, Saint Theodore, was chosen as the patron saint of

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[86] Walter 2003, 50:
[87] Bugslag 2003, 446: E. de Lepinois and Lucien Merlet, ed., *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Chartres*, 3 vols, Chartres 1862, 1863, 1865, vol. I, 60.
[88] Bugslag 2003, 446.
[89] Bugslag 2003, 446: Delaporte 319-326, and plates CXI-CXIV.
[90] Bugslag 2003, 449.
[91] Maye: University of Pittsburgh Library Images Archives.

Agioi Theodoroi in Athens when Chartres was completed in 1260? Is it a mere coincidence that Chartres Cathedral, which art historians would later call the pinnacle of Gothic architecture, completed 14 years before the 1274 Second Council of Lyons, heavily implemented Saint Theodore in its iconography and symbolism, given the cultural interactions between the Franks and Byzantines during the 13th century documented earlier in this thesis, such an architectural exchange and/or influence is possible?

Moreover, the Saints Theodores connote other particular iconographical symbolisms, given that a third less recognized Saint Theodore exists: Saint Theodore Orientalis. The tradition of Saint Theodore Orientalis is only attested in two non-Byzantine eastern texts which were recorded in Latin: *Bibliographia hagiographica orientalis,* one MS dating 1163 and the other to 1174; there was never a known Greek account of him.[92] Saint Theodore Orientalis is known to have routed a barbarian army with divine help (perhaps just as people considered Michael VIII was doing with the Catholic Rite). It is unknown how accepted this saint was in the overall Orthodox Rite or even if the Catholic Rite even knew he existed; Walter suggests that Saint Theodore Orientalis should be held as an example"of puerile hagiographical folklore."[93] However, if the Greeks took into account that three Saints Theodores existed while naming Agioi Theodoroi, although they only formally recognized two, the existence of Saint Theodore Orientalis would support the *filioque* clause. In other words, the two main entities, the Father and the Holy Spirit, were the two original and real entities, just like Saint Theodore Amasea and Stratilates. Following this thought pattern, the new later addition of *filioque,* or Saint Theodore Orientalis, was added later and whose meaning meant little to the Orthodox Rite. The question of

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[92] Walter 2003, 60: A. Galuzzi, "Tedodoro l'Orientale," BS 12, 249: G. Balestri, "Il martirio di S. Teodoro l'Orientale e de' suoi compagni Leonzio l'Arabo e Panegiris il Persian," *Bessarione* series 2, 10, 1906, pp. 151-68.
[93] Walter 2003, 60.

three or two accepted Saints Theodores is similar to the *filioque* clause; the word *filioque* was added to the Nicene Creed as an effect of the 1274 Second Council of Lyons, which the Catholic Rite accepted and the Orthodox Rite only *de facto* accepted. Therefore, the Orthodox Rite accepting only the two main entities of the original Nicene Creed prior to the 1274 Council, the Father and the Holy Spirit, and rejecting the third and/or “new” entity, the Son, parallels the acceptance of the two canonical Saints Theodores.

If this suggestion is correct, then this symbolism matches the 2:3 ratio of all three churches: the Little Metropolis’ Naked Satyr frieze, Merbaka’s Roman Stelai, and Agioi Theodoroi’s name. I will comment again on this 2:3 ratio in full detail in my conclusions.

ICONOGRAPHY & CULTURAL PERSPECTIVES

In this section I outline the perspectives of the Latins, Greeks, and "Romans" during the 13th century. Historically, iconographical analyses are weakest when an author fails to view a piece of art from the closest perspective of the respective culture for which it was originally intended. I hope to quell this shortcoming by first documenting the perspectives of these peoples from known documentation. Then, I will analyze the iconography of the Little Metropolis at Athens suggesting that it is part of a church building program in conjunction with the 1274 Second Council of Lyons. I will reference Sander's recent paper (2011) to emphasize the elements pertaining to the 1274 Second Council of Lyons that he has suggested regarding Merbaka.

The Chronicle of Morea

The Chronicle of Morea is a 14th-century account of the Fourth Crusade in mainland Greece, an area the Latins would later rename "Morea" (see map figure 16). The Chronicler, who remains anonymous today, retells the account from the Latin Crusader's point of view. The Chronicler recalls the origins of the new Latin Government in each recently acquired Greek land: the Morea, the Duchy of Athens, and Epirus. The account starts in 1204 and ends roughly around 1290, depending on the version. The Chronicle came down as oral composition, eventually being written down in the 14th century in four languages: Greek, French, Aragonese, and Italian. Modern scholars argue as to which version is the original, an argument that usually results in favoring either the Greek or French. The Chronicle is an important piece because the Chronicler writes keeping the tone of the Crusaders in mind constantly breaking the "fourth wall" to better emphasize key points.

An example from The Chronicle of Morea that relates to the ideology of Church unity occurred in 1195 when Alexios III overthrew Byzantine Emperor Isaac Vatatses, whom Alexios III threw in prison with Isaac's son Alexios IV. Isaac's son eventually escaped prison. Alexios IV, upon escaping prison and uncertain of what course of action to take, visited Philip of Swabia, who was the King of Germany and Alexios IV's brother-in law. Philip of Swabia gave Alexios IV this advice:

> "My son and nephew, I do not have what will serve you in this time that you are telling me; but I have heard reports-just a short time ago they were brought-that the Franks, who are on their way to Syria to the tomb of Christ, have arrived in Venice. Well, it seems to me that if you are willing to do it and are able to promise this [outcome] to the pope of Rome, that, if he orders the troops, those pilgrims, to abandon their expedition, the one to Syria, and to go to Constantinople to return it to you, to seize your empire so that you may have your dominions, to force all the Greeks to respect the pope, indeed to worship in the Church of Rome and to be one with us in the faith of Christ, in this way I hope and trust you will come into your majesty."[94]

This quote displays the historically and continually active intent of the Catholic Church to unite with the Orthodox Church, even if by force (a position the Catholic Church imposed again on the Orthodox Church in 1274). Upon hearing this, Alexios traveled to Venice and persuaded the Crusaders to help him retake Constantinople. [95] This is the first instance in The Chronicle of Morea depicting a movement towards Church unity.

In contrast, the Chronicle mentions an example of the Orthodox Rite not wanting to unite the churches but to remain separate entities that happened during the original 1204 Latin campaign for the Morea. A Greek fighting for the Latin army speaks up for his fellow Greek comrades in the Latin army saying to Sir Geoffroy, who was the commanding officer of the Latin army:

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[94] Lurier 1964, 81 (*Chron.* 559-571).

[95] The Latins were still in Venice because there was a dispute about who would pay for all the Venetian boats. Both parties reached a compromise to take a short detour to help the Venetians conquer Zara, a port city of great importance to the Venetians, therefore making the Venetians and Latins even.

> "You are still lacking four castles, our lord; the first is Corinth; the second, Nauplion; the third, Monemvasia; the fourth, Argos; these castles are very strong and well provisioned; you can never take them by assault. Well, if our lord wishes to capture the castles and that we, the race of Romans, shall die his slaves, this we ask, and bid you grant it to us by your oath in writing so that we and our children will have it: that, from now on, no Frank will force us to change our faith for the faith of the Franks, nor our customs and the laws of the Romans."[96]

According to the story, Sir Geoffroy accepts the Greek terms and stayed true to his word. All in all, the Greeks just wanted to be left alone by the Roman Catholic Church and to have religious freedom. The Greeks held no intention of wanting to unite both Rites.

The Latins, angered at the detour to Zara and already pessimistic about the expedition because the last two crusades for the Holy land were unsuccessful, were filled with excitement upon hearing the new plan of attack for Constantinople. The Franks were further enticed into the campaign for Constantinople once the connection between the Fourth Crusade and the Trojan War was promulgated.

In short, the Franks believed that they themselves were descendants of the Trojans. Rumors spread in the early 13th century that their ancestors fled from burning Troy and inhabited France, a story similar to the Aeneid. *Roman de Troie* claimed: " 'Duke Francus' emerged as the first leader of one section of the Trojans, a handful of people fortunate enough to be spared from the general carnage, but whom Greek aggression had nonetheless forced to abandon their city and wander far away from their homeland (Book II)."[97] In this scenario, by pursuing Constantinople, the Franks were simply taking vengeance on the "wicked" Greeks.[98] Eventually, Benoit de Sainte-Maure would publish *Roman de Troie* in the 13th century, a book that first

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[96] Lurier 1964, 132 (*Chron.*2082-2090).
[97] Shawcross 2003, 122: Fredegarius, *Chronicae,* ed. B. Krusch (MGH Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum 2. Hannover 1888) 45-46.
[98] This is particularly true since Constantinople was on the coast in Asia Minor, close to where Troy might have been. Perhaps the Franks actually thought Constantinople was the location of Troy. The two cities are roughly 500 km apart.

recorded these Trojan-Frankish claims,[99] and a book that some scholars called a "best-seller" in the 13th century. By the turn of the 12th century it seemed as though everyone and his mother could trace their origins to classical times.

In the year 1203, the Latins made the voyage from Venice to Constantinople and took the city, reinstating Alexios IV as heir. Alexios IV had previously agreed that he would help the crusaders in their quest for Syria/the Holy Land by supplying troops and money upon being reinstated as Basileus. However, Alexios IV, upon receiving bad advice from his Byzantine Court Officials, ordered Latin and foreigners in Constantinople killed (the crusaders were outside of the city). Philip of Swabia scolded Alexios IV, making him apologize and change his ways. Although thousands of Latins were killed, the crusade went on.[100] Roughly a year later, Mourtzouphlos, a Byzantine elite, led a coup against Alexios IV and assassinated him. Soon after, Mourtzouphlos claimed the throne, naming himself Alexios V. The crusaders were enraged and retook Constantinople in 1204, this time leaving Baldwin of Flanders, a Latin elite crusader, to rule. In the Chronicler's words regarding these "wicked" Roman undertakings:

> "Listen, all of you, Franks and Romans, all who believe in Christ and are baptized, come here and listen to a broad subject, the evilness of the Romans, their faithlessness. Who will put faith in them, believe in their oath, since they do not respect God nor love their ruler? They do not love each other except with guile."[101]

Again the Chronicler breaks the fourth wall to openly discuss the "wickedness" of the Romans. Such informal style suggests that the two parties, Latins and Orthodox, were constantly on edge. Again, in this episode we also see an example of a Byzantine ruler, Alexios IV, using "Church Unification" as a means to save his own power and to quell quarrellings between Byzantines and

[99] The published date is debated, although 1204 CE is an acceptable *terminus post quem*.
[100] This is NOT the 1182 Massacre of the Latins, but a different event. For more, cf. Gregory 2010, 309.
[101] Lurier 1964, 88 (*Chron.* 719-723).

Latins without ever really uniting the Churches; we will see this device later again used by Michael VIII in 1274.

After the Latins seized Constantinople in 1204, the Byzantine ruling class, including Michael Palaeologos VIII, fled to Nicaea and continued to rule what would later be called the Nicaean Empire. Eventually Michael VIII would recapture Constantinople for the Byzantines and would split the throne with eight-year-old Emperor John IV, whom Michael VIII would blind thus usurping his power.[102] The Chronicler speaks about Michael VIII's actions:

> "Behold the iniquity and sin which the wretch committed, to strangle his lord, to seize his sovereign power; who will hear of it and say that men who keep neither to the truth nor to an oath believe in God? Why, the unbaptized races, should they make you an oath, according to the customs which they have and to the law which they adhere to, would receive death rather than commit perjury. But the Romans, who say that they believe in Christ, the more they swear to you and affirm their oaths, the more they plot against you to deceive you, to take of your possessions or to slay you."[103]

Again, the Chronicler, representing the voice of the majority of Latin Crusaders, writes about the evil and wicked Romans.

However, in this passage the Chronicler takes a political shot at Guillaume II,[104] a Latin elite crusader and later the last Villehardouin Prince of the Morea, as well. Michael VIII's army beat Guillaume II's army at the Battle of Pelagonia in 1259. In the midst of the battle, Michael VIII captured Guillaume II and held him in prison for two years, only giving Guillaume II up in return for three of the four main castles of Morea: Mani, Mystra, and Monemvasia. Even when Guillaume II was imprisoned to Michael VIII, he was extremely arrogant and Michael VIII responded:

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[102] Gregory 2010, 340. A Byzantine Basileus had to be immaculate, thus any deformity or imperfection would disallow one to rule.
[103] Lurier 1964, 103 (*Chron.* 1247-1256).
[104] Also known as William II Villehardouin.

> "Prince, it is very evident that you are a Frank, for you have the same arrogance that the Franks have; for their arrogance always leads the Franks astray and leads them to the loss of their expectations, just as your arrogance brought you, too, to fall into my hands here in my prison. And you say and expect in your arrogance to get out of my hands and out of my prison. I swear to you by God as a basileus, and hold it as truth, that never in your life will you leave here in return for *denarii*, sell yourself for money, nor leave in return for wealth."[105]

It is apparent that the Chronicler took into account no biases in displaying arrogance and wickedness; he instead identified it in all populations equally. The Chronicler recognized "wickedness" and recorded it, even if perpetrated by his own Rite. Perhaps these examples better support his credibility.

My last example of Greek animosity toward the Latins is seen in the episode when Michael VIII released Guillaume II and sent forces to fortify his newly-owned castles in the Morea, retaking what was rightfully his. The Meling and the Gisterra, native peoples in Lakedemonia, were the first peoples ready and eager to revolt against Latin dominance once Michael VIII started his Morea campaigns.[106] Upon seeing Guillaume II assemble troops nearby prior to any fighting, the Meling and Gisterra were some of the first Greek peoples to unite with the Byzantines.[107] This example further suggests that the Greeks clearly did not want to live under Latin rule.

Muslim Sources regarding Franks and Byzantines

Arabic coined two different words for the Franks and Byzantines; *al-Ifranj* and *al-Rūm* respectively. Although, Ifranj or Rūm used by themselves meant "a Christian", nevertheless the

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[105] Lurier 1964, 197 (*Chron.* 4304-4312).
[106] Lurier 1964, 205 (*Chron. 4575-4593).*
[107] Lurier 1964, 205 (*Chron. 4575-4593).*

Muslim community immediately differentiated the two after the 1204 Latin seizure of Constantinople.[108]

In the 11th century, the general perspective of Muslims was to hold Byzantines in high esteem. Some sources, such as Ibn Said, go so far as to comment on the beauty of the general white-skinned, blue-eyed, and blonde-haired Byzantine citizen.[109] Muslims also envied Byzantine craftsmanship, buildings, and paintings.[110] *In toto*, the 12th- and 13th-century Muslims looked favorably upon the Byzantines.

However, the Muslims thought differently about the *al-Ifranj*. El-Cheikh references Prince Shayzar, Usamah b. Munqiz, who wrote, "When one comes to recount cases regarding the Franks, he cannot but glorify Allah and sanctify him, for he sees them as animals possessing the virtues of courage and fighting but nothing else."[111] Thus even the high Prince thought the Franks were savage animals, an opinion that may indicate an extreme cultural shift in attitude, given the extensive past animosity between Byzantines and Muslims. The Muslims truly believed the Franks were an unsophisticated inferior class. Ibn al-Athir further comments on the immoral Franks:

> "The Franks in the city [Constantinople], who were numerous, around thirty thousand…, rose, with the help of the Franks who were besieging the city, throwing fire, time and again, thus burning one-fourth of the city. They entered the city and ravaged it for three days, killing and plundering. The Byzantines were all either killed or became destitute. A group of Byzantine aristocrats sought refuge in Haghia Sophia but were followed by the Franks, and although a number of priests, monks, abbots came out, begging them with the crosses and Bibles they were carrying, the Franks disregarded them, killing them all and plundering the church."[112]

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[108] El-Cheikh 2001, 59.
[109] El-Cheikh 2001, 56: Ibn Said, *kitab al-jughrafiya,* ed. I. al-Arabi (Beirut, 1970), 177.
[110] El-Cheikh 2001, 56.
[111] El-Cheikh, 2001, 68: P. Hitti, *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades: Memoirs of Usamah Ibn-Munqidh* (London, 1987), 161.
[112] El-Cheikh, 2001, 61: Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil,* 12:191.

Truly, even in Islam, this act was considered a most wretched sin to slay aristocrats in Hagia Sophia. Eventually, Michael VIII would swear peace with Sultan Qalawun in 1281 "in which they agreed to maintain love and friendship without limit of time;"[113] a true test of love given the two empire's extensive relationship. The introduction of the savage Franks to the east brought Byzantines and Muslims closer together, now that they had a mutual enemy.

In sum, even the Muslims who were previously bitter rivals to Byzantines found a mutual hatred for the Franks. In El-Cheikh's words, "If, earlier on, the Muslims had been shocked by Byzantine "immorality," they now seem to be more deeply shocked by Frankish "immorality" and behavior. Thus, whereas in the earlier image, the character, morality, and practices of the Byzantines were a main subject of Arabic-Islamic texts, the moral character of the Byzantines, with personal details and blatant judgments, are now absent [in the thirteenth century]."[114] This "more mutual" Muslim perspective towards the Byzantines and Franks should be kept in mind while reading the rest of the following iconography section.

Byzantines Perspective & Art

In this section, I will describe the 13th-century mindset and perspective of the Byzantines. French scholars coined the term "Byzantine" in the 18th century for scholarship regarding the Roman Empire from 306- 1453. Before this time, the remnants of the Roman Empire from 306-1453 were simply called the Roman Empire. The people we historically have called Byzantines considered and called themselves full-fledged Romans, *Romaioi*. This self-designation makes perfect sense. Emperor Constantine founded "New Rome", Constantinople, as the Roman capital

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[113] El-Cheikh 2001, 67: P. M. Holt, *Early Mameluk Diplomacy (1260-1290): Treaties of Baybars and Qalawun with Christian Rulers* (Leiden, 1995), 122-28.
[114] El-Cheikh 2001, 68.

of the Eastern Roman Empire. The Byzantines were "Romans" and thus considered their art equally "Roman."

Michael VIII, upon recapturing Constantinople in 1261, promoted a revival in the arts and sciences which were later called the Palaeologan arts.[115] Some characteristics of Palaeologan art are "1) a new interest in ancient philosophy and science, 2) writing concise essays on topics of ancient literature, 3) a unique inclination toward textual criticism and the writing of commentaries on ancient literature, 4) dealing with the theory of literacy style, and 5) composing translations of ancient Latin literature into Greek."[116] To this list I add an architectural style incorporating sarcophagi into a church's structure. The Palaeologan Arts lasted from 1261-1453.

Iconographical analysis, which will come in a later chapter, is dependent on the educational level of the Byzantine populous. The common Byzantine citizen had a working literacy. However, every Byzantine class knew the classical myths, although only the wealthy educated would have read them, which is why Michael Choniates, the last Archbishop of Athens before the fourth crusade, has historically been labeled as patron of the Little Metropolis Church in Athens.[117] Although knowledge of classical myths were transmitted by way of mouth, Mango knows of no collectors of ancient statues in Byzantine times after the 5th century until a bishop of Winchester in the 12th century and Fredrick II.[118]

Let me present a few generalities about Byzantine attitudes toward iconography, in particular statuary. Byzantines believed that demons inhabited statues and therefore needed

[115] Mango 1963, 67.
[116] Tinnefeld 1995, 19.
[117] Mango 1963, 55.
[118] Mango 1963, 70.

crosses inscribed on them to relinquish their wickedness.[119] Several stories still remain about Byzantine superstitions held towards statues. Mango writes:

> "A woman in Constantinople, whose husband was given to dissipation, sought the help of a magician who performed over her certain demonic rites. The immediate objective was thereby achieved: the husband was brought to heel. But soon thereafter the woman began having disturbing dreams in which she saw herself pursued by Ethiopians and enormous black dogs. Then she saw herself standing in the Hippodrome, embracing the statues that were there, "urged by an impure desire of having intercourse with them." It took a saint to rid the poor woman of the demons."[120]

Because statues were thought to hold demonic powers, the Latin Crusaders destroyed a plethora of classical statues during their crusades.

Statues were also used in Byzantine times as political propaganda. For example, Michael I ripped off the arms of a statue of Tyche, displaying his dominance over the Byzantine populace.[121] However, both parties, Byzantine Basileus and populace, used statues as political propaganda. In 1203, a Byzantine mob tore off the arms of a statue of Athena in Constantinople's forum. The mob then rearranged Athena's arms pointing towards the "west", which the Byzantine Emperor Isaac Alexios took as an evil sign of the Crusaders coming. The Crusaders who heard about the Athena statue, upon entering the city, destroyed it.[122] Thus it seems that even the crusaders themselves acknowledged Byzantine superstitions, as monumentalized in sculpture.

The Little Metropolis in Athens Friezes: Satyr, Banquet, and Zodiac Calendar

Keeping in mind the various perspectives I just mentioned, I will now analyze the Little Metropolis' ornamentation. The Little Metropolis in Athens' façade is highly ornamented with

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[119] Maguire *Cage of Crosses. 169-172.*
[120] Mango 1963, 60: PG, III, col. 776ff. *Life of St. Andrew the Fool.*
[121] Mango 1963, 61: *Script. Orig.* CP, II, p.205, section 101.
[122] Mango 1963, 63: Nicetas Choniates, p. 738 ff.

spolia. There are several recurring themes in display of the spolia including animal violence, mythological creatures, eagles, and various crosses. However, in what follows I suggest that, iconographically, the "Naked Satyr" and Zodiac Calendar friezes are associated with the *filioque* clause from the 1274 Second Council of Lyons.

The "Naked Satyr" Frieze

The first frieze I will discuss is the "Naked Satyr" frieze (figure 5), located on the eastern side of the church's north exterior wall, roughly two meters from ground level. The frieze measures roughly 1.5m x 2m and depicts a naked satyr positioned in the center of the frieze flanked by two crosses, all in low relief. The "Naked Satyr" itself dates to the classical era while the two inscribed crosses are from Byzantine times. The "Naked Satyr" stands in a quasi-*contrapposto* pose. The "Naked Satyr" fills the entire area vertically, with his feet resting on the frieze's border and his right hand placed directly over his head which reaches the frieze's top border. He takes an idealized human form, with a full head of flowing hair and thick beard. Modern scholars, including Grabar, have historically labeled him the "Naked Satyr." While I agree that the figure is in fact a naked satyr, I believe the "Naked Satyr" can be more specifically identified as Marsyas.

Many aspects of the sculpture recommend this identification. The "Naked Satyr" holds a peculiar look on his face, one of angst or pain. With mouth opened and head drooping down the "Naked Satyr" almost seems to be struggling, as if hanging or strung out by the right hand. If one were to draw a line from the position of the Satyr's weight-bearing foot to his right hand above his head, where arguably a hanging point might reside, the line would fall perfectly

vertically; as if the original sculptor meant to depict the satyr hanging. In other words, the figure seems to have a certain vertical lift to it. The frieze's border further emphasizes this "hanging" and/or "overstretching", as the sculpted figure is stretched across the canvas vertically. Lastly, the Satyr's left arm terminates into a blurred area, although at a closer glance, it is possible that the Satyr is clenching something in his hand. Granted, time and/or mutilation has destroyed a section from the Satyr's left leg; however, given the Satyr's full right upper thigh and stomach, it appears as though the frieze has a bit of extra material over the Satyr's upper pubic area. If true, this space might further suggest identifying the figure as Marsyas since he originally would have clenched an aulos, the instrument with which Marsyas challenged. Or perhaps Marsyas would have clutched the cithara, another instrument associated with Marsyas, although LIMC is unsure why. A held cithara or aulos would have continued the low relief and thus would have been in closed contour, thus attached directly to Marsyas' hand and upper pubic area. In sum, depictions of Marsyas vary so much that no stage of his myth is more prominent than the others.[123] This evidence is rather suggestive and offers an equally plausible reconstruction as any other interpretation, especially given the symbolic role Marsyas played in the Roman times, which I will discuss now.

"Naked Satyr"/Marsyas Symbolism

The symbolic meaning of Marsyas, or a "Naked Satyr" in its position as a later spolium, is dependent on our understanding of the Master Mason of the Little Metropolis. As stated earlier, the Master Mason was likely illiterate; however, his patron who was rich, would have been

[123] New Pauly 2006, Vol. 8, 406:LIMC 1981, Vol. 6.

educated. For such a monumental event, perhaps even a Papal representative was present; however, there are no church documents from the Little Metropolis to support such a claim. The patron rarely stayed on and micromanaged a building project in its entirety. At the time of the Little Metropolis' erection, it is unclear how many Franks still lived in Athens, since Michael VIII's forces had taken most of Greece by 1274. However, guilds would have remained Greek, and building procedures would have been the same. Therefore, we probably have local Greeks building this church and perhaps other party representatives present, although no building records remain. Although no sources remain regarding the Little Metropolis' erection procedures, nevertheless if the church was built as part of a 1274 Second Council of Lyons building program, then perhaps we can assume, or at least wonder if, even if not all parties were present (Frankish, Greek, Byzantine, Papal), then at least the Master Mason knew the importance of the church and incorporated spolia to fit all party's needs and interests.

Overall, Satyrs are semi-zoomorphic companions of Dionysus.[124] They originated as a member of a group of demons in the 7th/6th centuries BCE and are usually snub-nosed, bald, and naked.[125] In archaic and classical Greece, Satyrs are regarded as creatures of nature and eventually become associated with Dionysus and theater.[126] The author of the article in the New Pauly states that,

> "However, it was left to semantic objectives of the iconography bent upon effects to emphasize the antithetical ideas of animality and humanity, thereby seeking to reinforce the impression that the Silenoi/satyrs represented a corroborative counter-image to the values of the citizens of the polis, or that they served the mythical superelevation of the-banquet(*Symposium)* and-*kosmos."*[127]

[124] Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium 1991, Vol.3, 1847.
[125] New Pauly 2008, Vol. 13, 31.
[126] New Pauly 2008, Vol.13, 31.
[127] 2008, Vol. 13, 32: Id., On the Wilderness of Satyrs, in: Th. H Carpenter, Ch. A. Farone (eds.), *Masks of Dionysus*, 1993, 207-220.

In Roman times, Satyrs represented *otium* and statues of them were often placed in bathhouses, villas, and peristyle gardens.[128] Roman art began to correlate Satyrs with death.

> "The presence of Silenoi/satyrs in the Dionysian-mysteries, which were oriented towards the other world (Pl. Leg. 815c; wall painting in the Villa dei Misteri, Pompeii, cf. [2.80-81]), and in the funerary art of the Roman Imperial period, pointed to the idea of including the initiated person or the deceased in the entourage of the god"[129]….“They [Satyrs] were also on Dionysian-sarcophagi which, with over 380 copies, form the largest thematic group of relief sarcophagi in Rome and are documented until Late Antiquity.”[130]

Therefore, one might suggest that the satyr by itself represents the counter culture of the polis. Pauly’s reference to “the banquet” is of particular interest regarding the Little Metropolis since the banquet frieze is one of the other two “unique” friezes on the church, which I will analyze later. Merbaka also has a classical banquet frieze immured in its façade.

Next, the role of the Satyr as an icon of death in Byzantine times is also a consideration here. Palaeologan art, as noted earlier, is known to have reserved areas of a church for a sarcophagus (we just so happen to have a sarcophagus immured in the “lower east side” of the Little Metropolis’ Wall), an ironic characteristic given that Michael VIII, the first Emperor of the Palaeologan rule and thus the founder of Palaeologan art, was denied burial rites. Death in Byzantium was viewed as a consequence of sin; as long as one lived a righteous life, one had nothing to fear.[131] Demetrios Kydones, a 14th-century philosopher, wrote that “fear of death was not rational.”[132] Byzantines throughout the ages held this same rational of death, since “Byzantines never developed a cult of the dead.”[133] Therefore, the incorporation of the Satyr frieze as a symbol of death is not anachronistic since the sarcophagus, another symbol of death, was immured in the general vicinity, just a meter or two over on the east wall. Also, the Satyr fits

[128] New Pauly 2008, Vol.13, 34.
[129] New Pauly 2008, Vol. 13, 31: W. Burkert, *Antike Mysterien*, 80-81.
[130] New Pauly 2008, Vol. 13, 34.
[131] Dennis 2001, 1.
[132] Dennis 2001, 7: Demetrii Cydonii *De contemnenda morte oratio,* ed. H. Deckelmann (Leipzig, 1901).
[133] Dennis 2001, 7.

chronologically as a symbol of death in this instance since Palaeologan art themes often incorporated death. It should also be noted that the sarcophagus in question is very similar to the de la Roche sarcophagus found in Boeotia, a 13th-century sarcophagus which is very similar to the immured Little Metropolis sarcophagus, given that the two sarcophagi are from the same century and a similar geographic area.[134]

The Satyr is also in a very unique position on the frieze, being flanked by a cross on either side. The Satyr again, perhaps representing the voice of the Athenians, is being "caged" according to Maguire, which ironically would fit symbolically the *filioque* clause, reading the text and frieze from left to right as was common in the Latin Liturgy. The Trinity said aloud mentions first PATER (the left cross), then FILIOQUE (the "Naked Satyr"), and finally ET SPIRITUM SANCTUM (the right cross), perhaps symbolizing the Greek Orthodox's forced acceptance of the *filioque.*[135] If a Christian were to "cross" oneself, the *filioque* is the bottom position, even in both Rites, since Roman Catholics cross from left to right to finish while the Greek Orthodox finish right to left. This idea mirrors the frieze since the two crosses are both elevated off the frieze's bottom border, but interestingly enough the crosses stretch across almost to the side borders, top borders, and the "Naked Satyr" in the middle respectively.[136]

Now, recalling the Greek perspective stated earlier, the Greeks found Frankish culture very foreign and thus connected better with their Byzantines counterparts. When the first opportunity arouse for the Greeks to repel the Franks, the Greeks seized the opportunity.

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[134] Sanders and Lock 1996, 105.

[135] The *filioque* was an important outcome of the 1274 Second Council of Lyons. The addition of the *filioque* directly affected the addition of the *filioque* to the Trinity.

[136] The inscribed crosses are later editions, probably Byzantine.

Mythical Significance of Marsyas

The importance of Marsyas in myth specifically resides in his relation to free speech, defiance of authority (the gods), autonomy of Italy, and foreign ideologies. Marsyas' myth begins with Athena creating and playing the aulos, a double flute. Athena was a tremendous aulos-player, however, the gods made fun of the face that Athena displayed while playing the instrument. For this reason, Athena discarded her aulos and Marsyas found it.[137]

Marsyas began to play the aulos and fancied himself a great musician. Marsyas challenged Apollo to a musical contest with a prize in which the winner could do whatever he pleased to the loser. Marsyas put forth a good showing; however, Apollo mid-song flipped his lyre upside down and continued to play, therefore winning the contest. Apollo shortly thereafter tied Marsyas to a tree and flayed him for eternity. For these reasons, Marsyas is associated with free speech and defying authority, namely the gods. [138] According to Herodotus, the myth originates from the Phrygians and then the Greeks adopted it later.[139]

In Roman times, Marsyas was also a symbol of Roman autonomy. LIMC notes:

> "Reproductions of the statue on coins, in relief, and in the round are known from the 3rd century BC to the 3rd century AD in Italy and the Roman Provinces. On late republican coins the image seems to symbolize plebian rights. On provincial coins and statues it seems to indicate that a city has Italian rights or colonial status."[140]

One prime example of Marsyas as a symbol in Rome occurred in the early 3rd century BCE. Wiseman comments:

> "It was very probably in Novius Plautius' lifetime that the Romans erected a statue of a satyr in the Comitium itself (possibly even on the Rostra). This was Marsyas, from whom the plebeian Marcii claimed

[137] Diodorus, *Library of History*, V. 75.3 & Telestes, *Fragment 805* (from Athenaeus, *Scholars at Dinner*) trans. Campbell, Loeb Vol. *Greek Lyric* V.
[138] New Pauly 2008, Vol. 13, 34.
[139] LIMC 1992, Vol.6, 367.
[140] LIMC 1992, Vol. 6, 377: Rawson, P. B.., *The Myth of Marsyas in the Roman Visual Arts*, 1987: Coarelli, F., *Il foro romano: period repubblicano e augusteo,* 1985, 91-119.

> descent, and Mario Torelli has very plausibly argued for 294 B.C., the censorship of the plebeian hero C. Marcius Rutilus (*cos*. 310), as the date when his statue was set up. Marsyas was the inventor of augury, and Marcius Rutilus was one of the first plebeian augurs, elected in 300. Marsyas was also the minister of *Liber Pater*, and his statue was the *signum liberae civitatis*; in the 290s, *nexum* had recently been abolished, and the plebeian aediles were busy exacting fines from money-lenders and other oppressors of the *plebs*."[141]

In sum, in Italy, the home of the Papacy, the symbol of Marsyas denoted Athens as a "Roman Province", or more correctly as a "Roman Catholic Province", which was exactly the point of the 1274 Second Council of Lyons. Marsyas also represented *signum liberae civitatis*, or "free speech." The study of pagan symbols continued strong in Athens until Justinian I closed down the philosophy schools in 529. From 529 onward, literature and thus the symbolism of Marsyas remained relatively stagnant given that most of Europe was in the Dark Ages. However, even with the Iconoclasm in the 8th and 9th centuries, some pagan symbols were assimilated into Christianity. Finally, the Renaissance of the 12th century and the Palaeologan arts in the 13th century brought forth a rebirth in the classical studies. The educated elite were now reading the classical manuscripts and understood the ancient history behind the symbolism of Marysas. So placing Marsyas in the *filioque* position on the frieze arguably suggests that the Orthodox Rite accepted the clause (on its own terms).

The Byzantine-Greeks, whose ancestors adopted the myth, would have known that the myth had foreign origins, or at least the educated elite would have known, especially given the Palaeologan rebirth in the classics. Given the immensity of the situation of building the Little Metropolis, the elite would have been present at the erection site and thus wouldn't have accepted the Satyr to fully symbolize them from a religious standpoint regarding free speech. Secondly, the majority of Byzantine-Greeks would have known the myth associated with Marsyas, displaying his defiance of authority. Therefore, I suggest that in this context Marsyas

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[141] Wiseman 1988, 4: Hor., *Sat*. I, 6. 115-17: Serv., *Aen.* III, 359: Serv., *Aen.* III, 20.

played the role of a multivalent symbol. The Italians and Papacy could have understood Marsyas to symbolize the autonomy of Rome, plebian rights, and free speech, while the Byzantine-Greeks, knowing that the 1274 Second Council of Lyons meant the loss of their religious free speech, may have looked to the Satyr as a symbol of the defiance of authority. However, since the Italians knew that he represented the counter-culture of the polis, and since the Greeks/Byzantines need only display a "unification" message to the Papacy even if they did not really accept the *filioque* clause (the Byzantine-Greeks also recognized the symbolism of Marsyas as an imposer-foreigner), Marsyas was an audacious symbol for the Byzantine-Greeks to choose given that he was a symbol of pagan ideology to both Rites. Given the art historical, mythological, and historical perspectives that the Mediterranean world took towards the "Naked Satyr" frieze, this evidence offers an equally plausible reconstruction of the Satyr figure as any other interpretation. I now turn to the church's zodiac calendar frieze and the various recurring friezes.

The Zodiac Frieze

The zodiac frieze rests directly above the west/main door's relieving arch and right below the roof line. A Corinthian capital flanks the frieze on either side; all three entities combined stretch over the entire width of the façade. The frieze and the capitals are originals from Classical times.[142] The frieze is comprised of two equal halves in low relief, depicting a variety of figures: a centaur, angel, animals, men, and children. The northern half of the frieze has three inscribed crosses almost evenly spaced out, while the southern half remains untouched

[142] Kiilerich 2005, 95.

by Christian vandalism. The frieze's meaning has been debated throughout modern scholarship, thereby providing it a variety of names: the banquet scene, the zodiac frieze, and the zodiac calendar frieze. I will refer to this frieze simply as the zodiac frieze, with the understanding that this title includes all three previous ideas. The frieze was taken from a temple at Eleusis, which is roughly 20 km west of Athens.

The zodiac originated in Babylon around 1000 BCE, when the Babylonians had 17 or 18 constellations, which by 500 BCE had evolved into the 12 zodiac signs we know today; around this same time zodiac signs are first documented in Greece.[143] "The zodiac was the symbol of didactic poems on the science of the heavens."[144] It was first associated with astrology in Hellenistic times, and was later used to symbolize the 12 months in later civilizations.[145] Both the Egyptian and the Roman calendars incorporated the zodiac respectively, with slight variations. In the Egyptian calendar, the year started sometime in the summer, during the annual flooding of the Nile while the Roman calendar started in March, the beginning of the harvest.[146] Muslims and Jews had their own respective calendars, based off the 12 month, 354 day, lunar calendar; the former's months rotate between 29 and 30 days to offset the "leap year" while the Jewish calendar adds an additional month every 19 years.[147]

In the Middle Ages, Roman Catholics and Byzantines had different calendars as well. Roman Catholic calendars generally started on December 25th, while the Byzantine calendar's fiscal year started on September 1st. Also, both Rites had different criteria for selecting Easter Sunday, leading the two Rites to celebrate Easter on a different day, a practice still in existence

143 New Pauly 2010, Vol. 15, 938-939.
144 New Pauly 2010, Vol.15, 942.
145 New Pauly 2010, Vol.15, 939.
146 New Pauly 2010, Vol.15, 937.
147 Jordan 2002, 134.

today. This was a big problem in the middle Ages since the majority of Catholic festivals and feast days were in the weeks prior to Easter, the most holy day of the year. The Roman Catholic calendar varied so much that in 1215 the French started the New Year on Easter and not January 1st, only recognizing the latter in 1564.[148] Given these calendrical issues, I suggest that the zodiac frieze, placed in the "prime" location on the façade, represents the unification movement of the 1274 Second Council of Lyons, regarding the Roman Catholic and the Orthodox calendars, to accept the same calendar and thus the same Easter.

As stated earlier, the Palaeologan rebirth in art and knowledge brought astronomy and mathematics to a new level;[149] astrological thought in Byzantium saw a relative period of stagnation from the 7th century to the 13th century. The end of the 13th century saw astrological advancements not to be matched for centuries. The revival in Byzantine astronomy also created more interactions with Muslims since Byzantines wanted to learn Muslim astrological concepts which were based on the Muslim calendar.[150] Constellations and/or zodiac, however, were not common symbols in Byzantine art.[151] However, in the Middle Ages, Christianity disseminated the zodiac:

> "When the Counter-Reformation set about Christianizing the ancient starry heavens, the signs of the zodiac became the twelve Apostles, or, in the wake of a fast developing emblematic, symbol of the Apostles, with a corresponding distich, based on medieval mnemonics, or, as in Gerhard Weigel's *Heraldic Globe* (1686), on coats of arms of provinces. The affiliation of individual provinces and cities with zodiacal signs was still discussed in the 17th cent. Moreover, zodiacal card games were invented. The planets newly discovered since 1781 were successively integrated into the zodiacal house-system by practicing astrologers."[152]

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[148] Jordan 2002, 134.
[149] Tinnefeld 1995, 19.
[150] Pingree 1964, 146.
[151] Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium 1991, 525.
[152] New Pauly 2010, Vol.15, 942 & 944: Id., Zodiacus Christianus, 1983, 50-56.

The zodiac was a common symbol in medieval art, even appearing on façades of Gothic churches.[153] Several Medieval churches were ornamented with zodiac: the interiors of Salone in Padova and the Palazzo Schifanoi in Ferrara as well as the large sundials at San Maria degli Angeli in Rome and San Petronio in Bologna.[154] There is even evidence of zodiac symbols ornamenting five Jewish Synagogues of the Middle Ages.[155] Simply put, the zodiac in the 13th century was essentially a medieval symbol. Granted, the frieze on the Little Metropolis is spolium, and therefore was probably taken from a local area, perhaps even from the classical temple whose foundations the Little Metropolis currently rests upon. Nevertheless, the Master Mason would have had other options, or even other regular building materials.

As stated earlier, Frankish architecture was known to the Greeks prior to the Fourth Crusade; however, it was considered rather foreign to the native Greeks and was thus only implemented full-scale upon Frankish domination.[156] A highly ornamented façade with a zodiac centerpiece is extremely out of the norm for Byzantine architecture at this time. Why would a Greek Master Mason incorporate something his guild, going along with the guild tradition, wouldn't have taught him anything about? And recalling Cyriacus of Ancona's records, several inscriptions were still in the general vicinity of the church area in the early 15th century. Why choose something non-native to ornament a new church when other material was so readily available?

In a rather extreme example, it would be like placing depictions of 12 sheep on a new mosque, when clearly the unmarked Christianized view of the sheep would be as the 12 Apostles. Another example would be if a new Synagogue were to incorporate Arabic letters on

[153] New Pauly 2010, Vol.15, 944.
[154] New Pauly 2010, Vol.15, 944.
[155] New Pauly 2010, Vol.15, 943 :Z. Weiss, E. Netzer, Promise *and Redemption. A Synagogue Mosaic from Sepphoris*, 1996.
[156] Traquair 1923, 33.

its façade, just for decoration. Granted, both theoretical situations are extreme (and unlikely) cases; however, the Little Metropolis zodiac frieze may offer an analogous example. In all these examples, both hypothetical and real, both cultures would know and accept the foreign symbols on an unmarked level. Also, such foreign depictions would be out of every architectural and art norm of that respective culture. All these uses of foreign iconography, my proposed and the hypothetical, can really only be explained in one way: as a means of unity or assimilation through symbolic decoration. I therefore suggest that the zodiac frieze represents the unification of the two Rites by symbolizing the unification of the Churches' calendars, with particular emphasis on Easter.

In toto, the rest of the ornamentations on the Little Metropolis are common in Middle Byzantine and/or Palaeologan Art. The birds, historically a symbol of Zeus, and going back to Shawcross referencing *Roman de Troie,* would recall the myth of Zeus transforming himself into an Eagle to transport the Trojan Prince Ganymede to Mt Olympus, perhaps a newly reborn myth given the Crusader's "Trojan" trend. The double-headed eagle was the *insignia* of the Palaeologan House, as well as of the Byzantine Empire. Animal violence is also a very common theme in Byzantine art. Palaeologan art brought a rebirth in classical themes, and this new art movement combined with new "Frankish-Trojan" movement brought a universal theme across both Rites: the perfect theme for unification.

CONCLUSIONS

In this paper I have suggested that the churches of Little Metropolis, Merbaka, and Agioi Theodoroi are associated with the 1274 Second Council of Lyons church building program on account of their iconography with respect to history. Sanders was one of the first scholars to suggest such a collection of churches, and he primarily focused on answering where, when, who, and why regarding Merbaka; his conclusions are highly suggestive. But Sanders' inquiries regarding a church building program in conjunction with the1274 Second Council of Lyons is not just limited to Merbaka; he also states:

> "It is possible to see the use of Gothic elements in Merbaka and other churches built in the Latin provinces of Greece, such as at Blachernae, Androusa and Yeraki, either as acceptance of or at least lip service to the government and religious governance of the time. The question whether Merbaka is unique or part of a building program has already been raised by several scholars. Future research may reexamine the relationship of Merbaka to other churches in the region dedicated to the Dormition such as Chonika and Ayia Moni. These churches have glazed bowls immured in them, a decorative device which was particularly a feature of northwestern Italian churches, less so in the Western administered territories of the Aegean (Attica, Peloponnese, Kythera, Crete and Epirus) and, arguably, absent in Byzantine territories. They also have high podia and, employ more or less spolia in their walls. The liberal use of squared Corinthian limestone for the *opere inciso* of the upper walls alone suggests either that there was a source of material and skilled labor used for special projects over the course of almost 130 years in the Argolid or that its extraction was part of a single building program. In fact the use of *opere inciso* may be a criterion which may help to distinguish churches built during the *Frankokrateia* or by *Frankophiles* and Byzantine churches or churches built by *Frankophobes* using rubble construction (*opere plano*)."[157]

Bruzelius also alludes to a possible 1274 collection regarding two churches built by Charles de Anjou, *ad modum Francae*.[158] Such exploration into a possible 1274 church collection have begun in the past decade, and the Little Metropolis and Agioi Theodoroi can now also be fit into this 1274 church collection.

First, the Little Metropolis' chronological date has been highly debated throughout scholarship; however, no scholarship has ever associated the church with the third quarter of the 13th century because of its Gothic and subtle Palaeologan architectural features. In particular, I

[157] Sanders 2010, 19.
[158] Bruzelius 1991, 410.

have suggested that the iconography of the "Naked Satyr" and zodiac friezes alludes to the *filioque* clause, an issue of the day in the late 13th century and one which I will shortly reprise.

Second, Agioi Theodoroi's chronological date has been highly contended, being re-dated twice by the same scholar (Megaw). Sgraffito diagnostic pottery, however, suggests a later date after 1150 for the church. The hagiography of Saint Theodores also alludes to the *filioque* clause, which I will now summarize in respect to these three churches.

As I have also noted, all these churches, the Little Metropolis, Agioi Theodoroi, and Merbaka, seem to convey a common symbolic theme of "two to three" (2:3) in church ornamentation. Merbaka's north wall features a two person Roman grave stele with a Greek inscription below it while the west wall has immured a three person Roman grave stele and a Latin inscription below it, possibly subtly representing the *filioque* clause. The Little Metropolis bears the "Naked Satyr" frieze on its north wall, perhaps representing the *filioque* clause by depicting the two Rite's Trinities and therefore displaying the 2:3 ratio. The Little Metropolis' zodiac frieze further emphasizes this 2:3 concept by perhaps representing the unification of the two Rite's calendars. Next, Agioi Theodoroi exhibits this 2:3 concept in regards to hagiography. There were two predominately recognized Saint Theodores in the Orthodox Rite, Saint Theodore Amasea and Saint Theodore Stratelates. The third Saint Theodore, Saint Theodore Orientalis, was really only recognized in non-Byzantine eastern tradition, but was at least copied down in Latin texts. This 2 to 3 overall concept is highly suggestive as a means to associate this collection of churches to the 1274 Second Council of Lyons, namely the *filioque* clause.

All in all, further investigation is needed regarding this possible link between the 1274 Second Council of Lyons and these three churches, particularly Agioi Theodoroi. Due to time

constraints, I have limited my investigation to mainland Greece, in particular to the area most well known to me: Athens. Several churches were erected in Constantinople during the third quarter of the 13th century as well as in France. Churches were also constructed in other areas of the Medieval and Byzantine worlds in the 13th century, including but not limited to Thessaloniki, the Balkans, Italy, and Syria. Further investigation into these areas is necessary to delineate the full extent of such a possible 1274 church building program.

In sum, architectural, iconographical, hagiographical, ceramic, numismatic, historical, and historiographical evidence set forth in regards to the Little Metropolis, Merbaka, and Agioi Theodoroi suggests a possible church building program associated with the 1274 Second Council of Lyons.

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Appendix

FIGURES



Figure 1 Little Metropolis: West Façade-Main Entrance



Figure 2 Little Metropolis: South Exterior Wall



Figure 3 Little Metropolis: North and West Exterior Walls



Figure 4 Little Metropolis: 19th Century



Figure 5 Little Metropolis: “Naked Satyr” Frieze



Figure 6 Little Metropolis: Zodiac Calendar Frieze



Figure 7 Merbaka: South Wall



Figure 8 Merbaka: North Wall: Tour lead by Sanders



Fig 9 Agioi Theodoroi: 19th Century

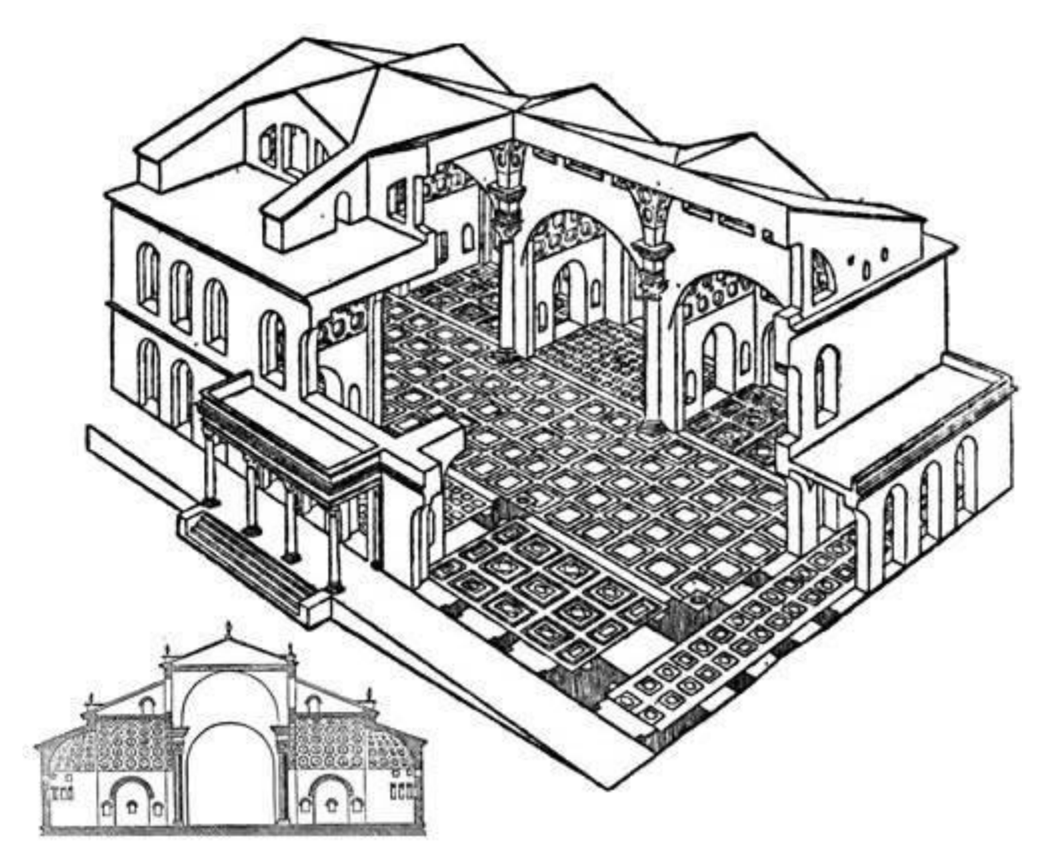


Figure 10 Constantine’s Basilica

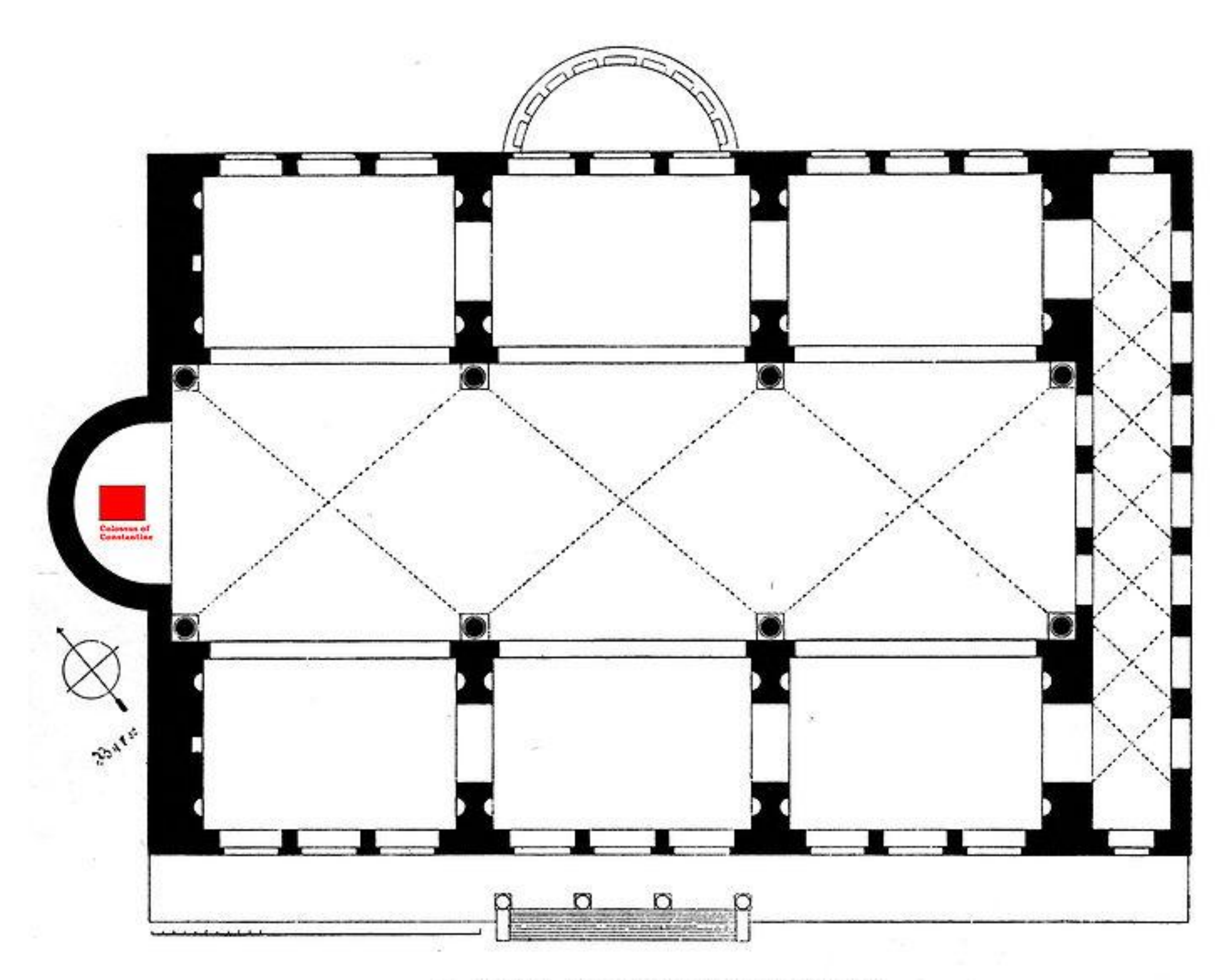


Figure 11 Constantine’s Basilica

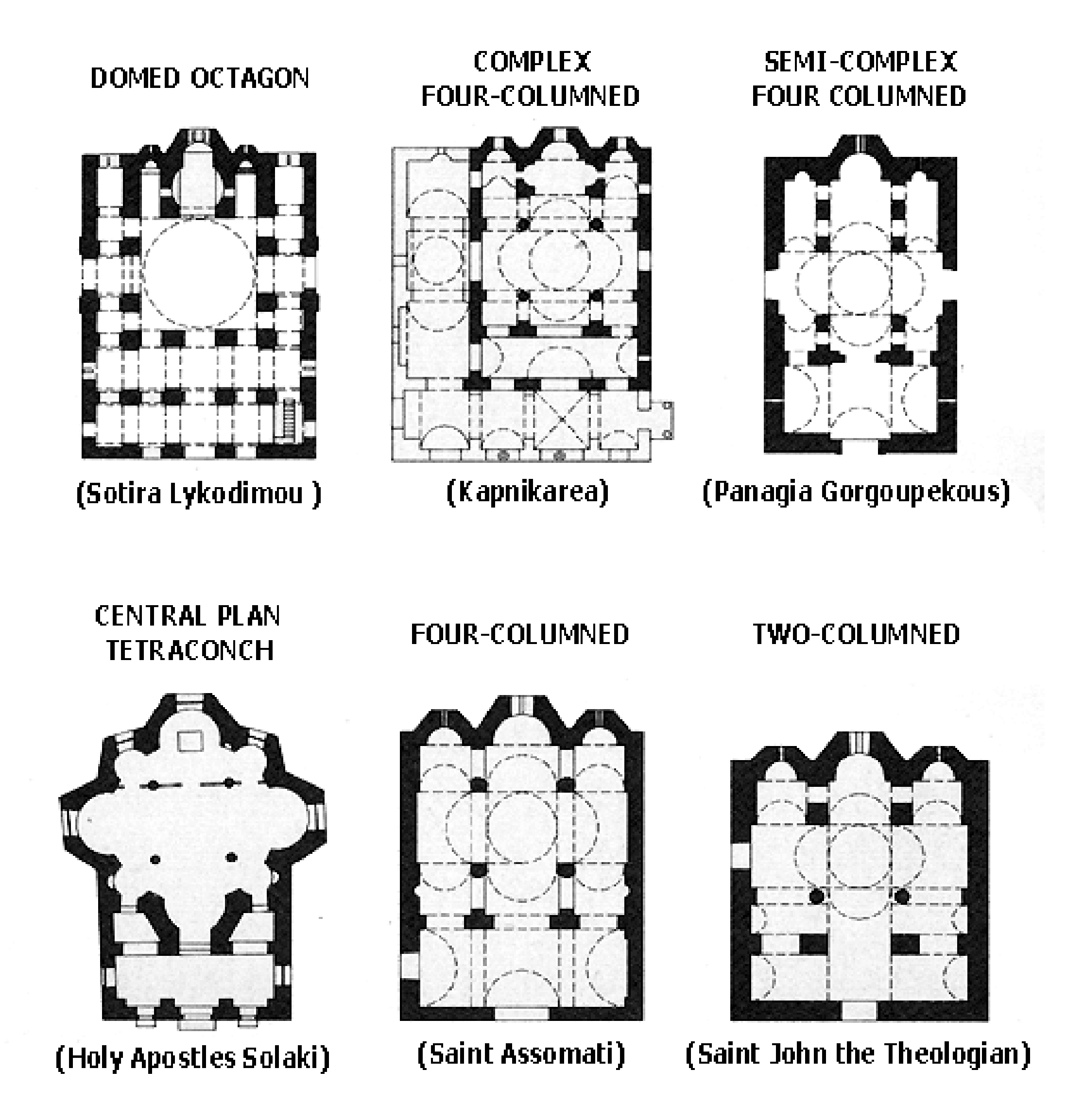


Figure 12 Examples of Inscribed Cross Floor Plans

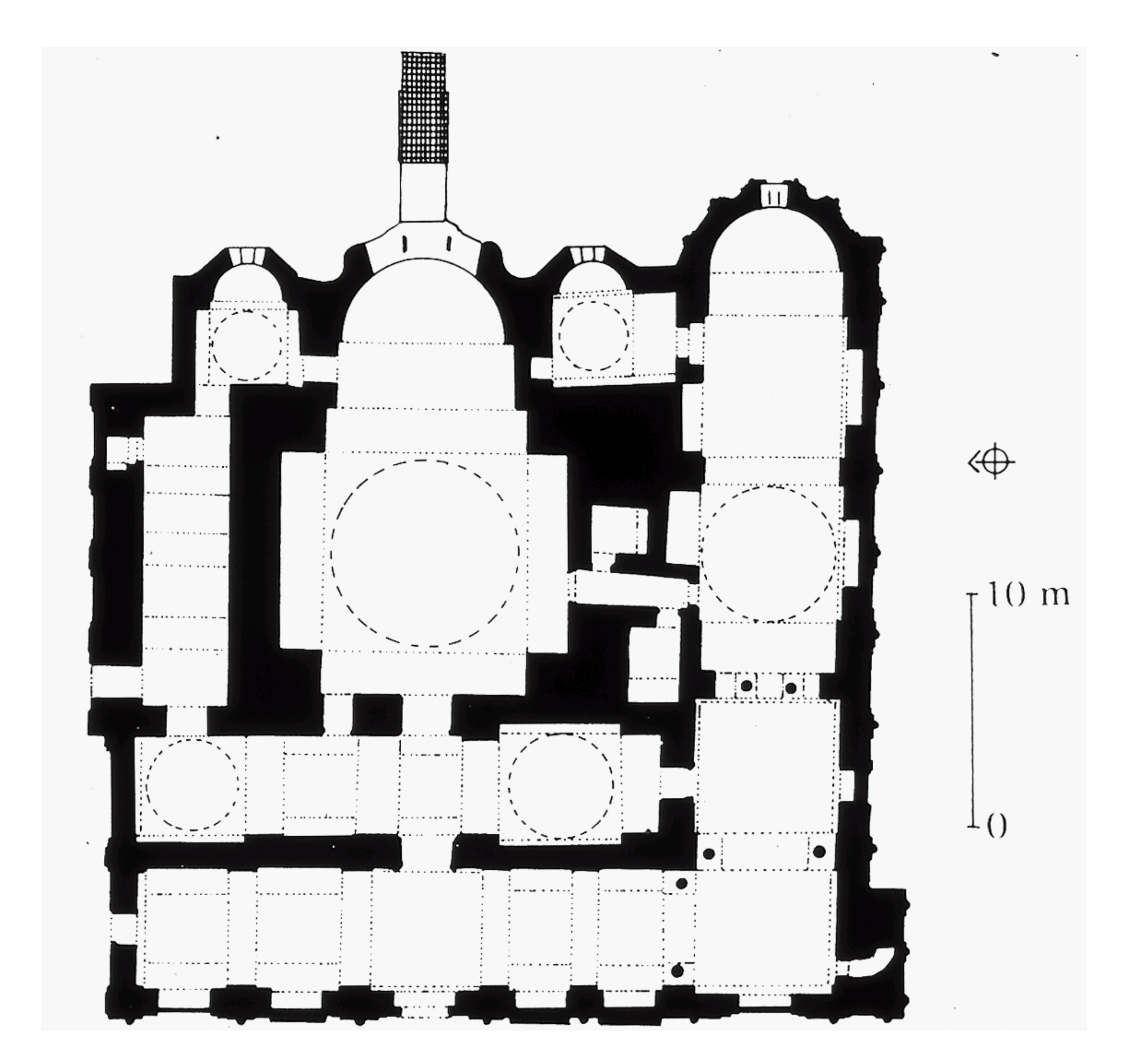


Figure 13 Chora Church Floor Plan

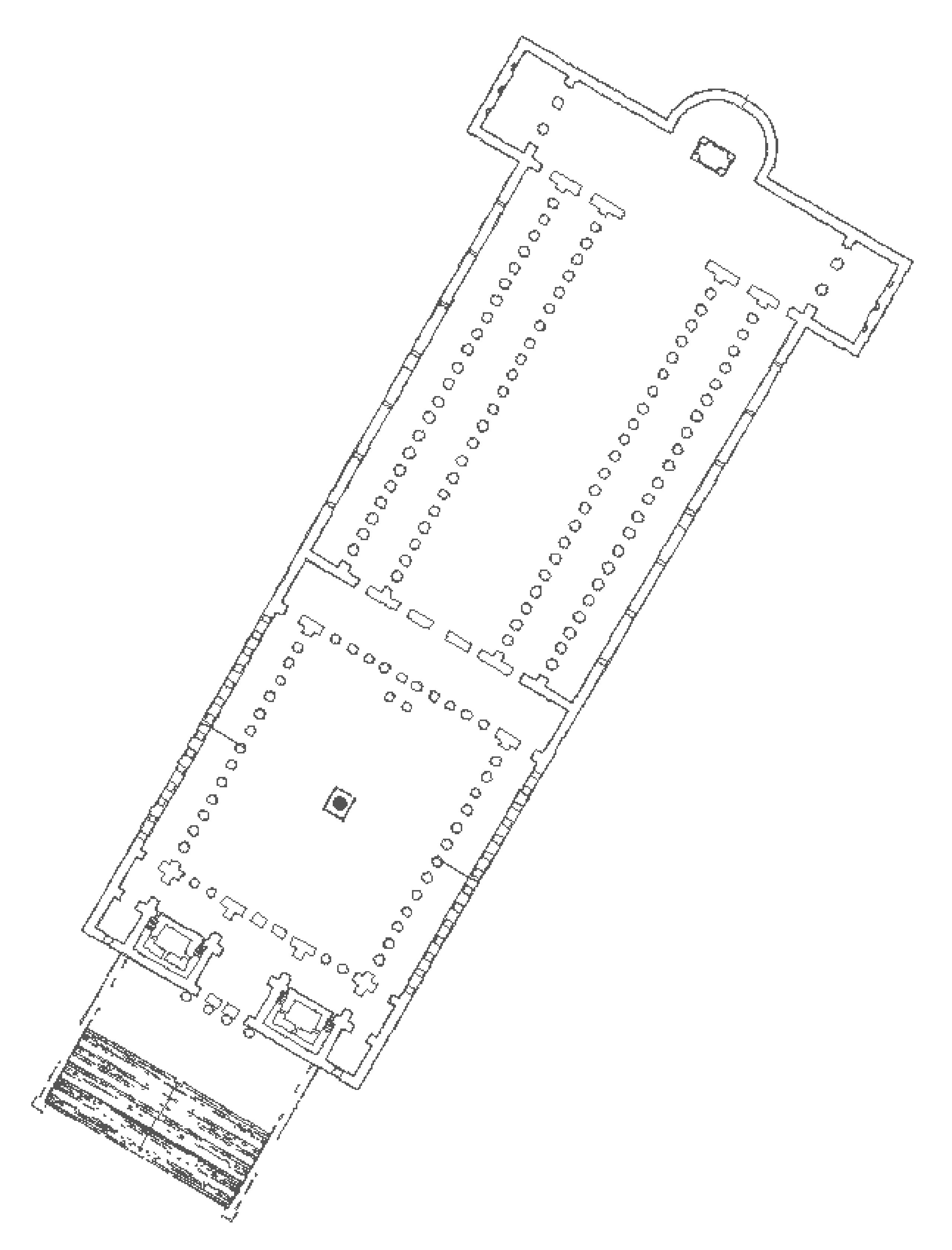


Figure 14 Old Saint Peter's Basilica

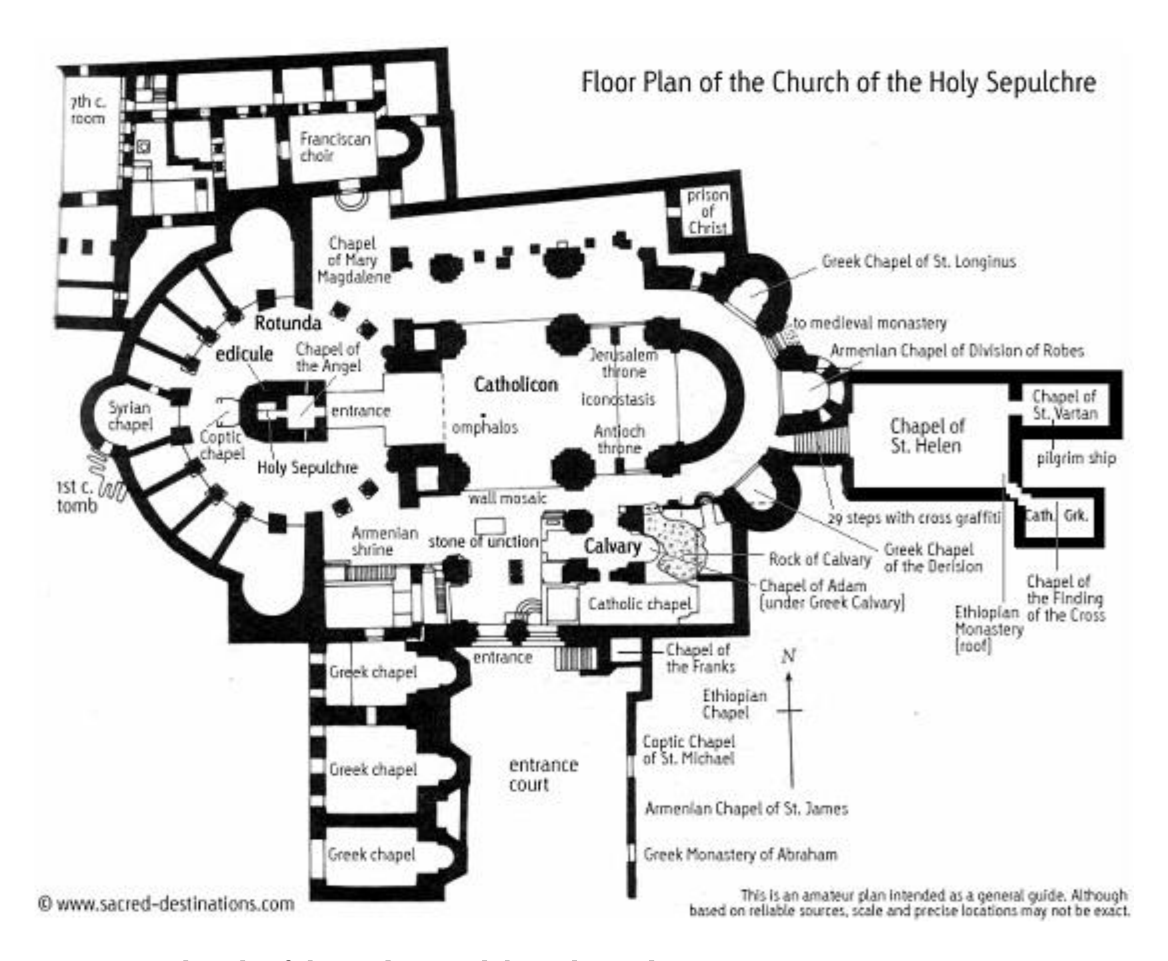


Figure 15 Church of the Holy Sepulchre Floor Plan



Figure 16 Map of the Morea